

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

April 6th, 1957

AS LONG AS CAPITALISM LASTS

END TO INDUSTRIAL STRIFE

in a slave (i.e. Communist) state, still some democratic means should be found to prevent workers from going on strike and thereby upsetting the even tenor of capitalist endeavour.

The last phrase in the above quote is, however, the most idealistic. The *Standard* hopes for 'a lasting change in industrial relations'. So do we, of course, but we are usually dismissed as idle dreamers when we point out what is involved in seeking changes in industrial relations.

We pointed out a fortnight ago that those who support a competitive economy (and Lord Beaverbrook's papers are loud in their praise of the virtues of competition) can have no complaint when the workers begin to act upon their advice—when they begin to compete with the employers for the wealth they produce. Neither can they expect competition to bring anything but conflict. How can it? Competition is conflict, and all that the capitalists and their journalistic apologists desire is that the conflict

be joined on *their* terms and in fields where they are bound to win.

When the workers join in and, because their very lives are at stake, play a little rough, the capitalists cry 'Foul'. Free competition is one thing, class war another altogether.

The *Standard* continues (and we use this article as typical of Fleet Street) thus:

'Clearly this [i.e. the 'lasting change'] will only be achieved if the Government can intervene with authority. At present it cannot do so. Its self-imposed role has been that of neutral umpire.

But the Government may have to change the rules of the game, as well as interpret them. If the crisis is not soon resolved, the Government will have to get a clear ruling from the country on this issue. Either the Tories will emerge victorious from the polls—with a mandate to rule the land and deal with industrial strife. Or the Socialists will be returned to power—and give the strikers a free rein.'

We can ignore the stupidity of the last sentence. The Labour Government showed itself as authoritarian (if not more) in dealing with strikers as the Conservatives. What is significant in this passage are the phrases 'change the rules', and 'rule the land and deal with industrial strife'.

These are veiled threats—hints of anti-strike legislation which would place the workers of this country in the same position as those in Communist and Fascist states. The champions of free enterprise are very much opposed to state interference with the profit end of capitalism, to nationalisation or trade controls. They haven't the same dislike for controls over the workers.

Similarly they pride themselves upon their sportsmanship and loyalty to the rules of the game—but if they look like losing anything serious (like money) they are quite unashamed in suggesting changing the rules to suit themselves!

But even this will not produce the 'lasting change in industrial relations.' These relations are to-day

"The wealth of the power of the poor and the weak."

—BARR

the result of the conflict between two opposing interests of the controllers of the workers.

The former workers as little much work as want to get as much for no more work satisfaction. Change into state control is exactly the

The lasting change come only when the administration are the same people and of the producers. The strikers has therefore that which is going to be the strife is the super control and state control, when the arise because the classes.

While capitalism is impossible. In the end of capitalism forms. Will the up to that in the community as a whole

IN I

KEEPING RHOD

SALISBURY (S) The Southern R is considering intro prevent illicit sex people of different the Minister of Affairs, Mr. A. R. decision had been r

The present pos the Immorality and sion Ordinance of illegal for an Afr with a white wom It is not an offence to have illicit relat female. If the law probably be in South African po relations between races is a punishable Attention has b matter by the re Southern Rhodesia Matimba, to a Dut

MONEY WELL-S

The Governmen

Makarios Free - But not in Cyprus

WITH a suitable display of determination on both sides not to yield to threats or swerve from justice, Archbishop Makarios has been granted, and has accepted, permission by the British Government to leave the Seychelles. The Archbishop will be entirely free to go where he likes—except to Cyprus, and "naturally when he is a free man anyone can get into touch with him anywhere they like—except in Cyprus" (Lennox Boyd, House of Commons).

The United Nations Resolution calling for a resumption of negotiations for a "peaceful, democratic and just solution" of the Cyprus problem, has according to Makarios: created a new situation opening the way for the restoration of peace on

Greece, Turkey and Britain, claiming that the "international aspect" of the problem must be settled before getting down to internal affairs. This can be regarded as another excuse to postpone the question of self-determination until such a time as Britain feels her own demands on Cyprus will be assured. Makarios's claim that a new situation had been created convinces us just as little. Both sides are anxious to adopt 'face saving' tactics so familiar in power politics when changes take place and there is call for the opposing factions to come to terms, but the problems in Cyprus remain fundamentally the same as they were at the beginning of the struggle.

Why has it been necessary there-

even by means which are difficult for the Government to swallow.

The Greek Government has expressed disapproval of the interference by NATO, but neither Greece nor Turkey are anxious to see Communism flourishing, and we suggested at the time of the Suez crisis, when Tito was hastily making plans to receive representatives from Turkey and Greece, that some kind of agreement would be reached by all interested groups if only through fear of the Kremlin.

In the meantime the ordinary people go uneasily about their day-to-day tasks. We do not consider that under the spiritual and political guidance of Makarios their lot will be very much improved, but the

E. A. BERGMAN

In this Issue :

Guild Socialism

Re-Stated - p. 2

Human Problems &

Political Crises - p. 3

The Thoughtful

Corporals - p. 4

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 18, No. 14

April 6th, 1957

AS LONG AS CAPITALISM LASTS

NO END TO INDUSTRIAL STRIFE

AS we go to press, one and a half million workers in shipbuilding and engineering are still on strike. The situation between the unions and the employers is one of deadlock, although the reality of the strike has forced the employers to shift from their original blank refusal to an offer of 3 per cent. increase—with strings. The unions, quite rightly, will not accept this; there is deadlock, and the Government has decided to set up courts of enquiry—one for the shipbuilders, one for the engineers.

This strike, on a larger scale than anything this country has known since 1926, has shaken the whole community. The national Press, of course, is raving, but behind all the hysteria one senses one basic fear—of the strength of organised labour, and of the danger of the workers realising it.

Although, this being an official strike, the union leaders are the bogeymen at present, Fleet Street's guardians of the public good would rather see a strike led by those leaders than one where the rank and file organise themselves unofficially. While the leaders are in control, discipline can still be maintained from above and there is more than hope that 'statesmanship' will prevail.

A Lasting Change?

Some of the papers, of course, are hoping for more than that. In the *Evening Standard* for April 1st (*sic*) for example, the following pious hope was expressed:

... a clear understanding must be reached with the dissidents. A settlement must be negotiated which will both end the present dispute and produce a lasting change in industrial relations.'

The Beaverbrook organ did not specify exactly what form the 'clear understanding' should take, but knowing its attitude it is safe to guess that, although the right to withdraw labour is inalienable in a free country and only made illegal

in a slave (*i.e.* Communist) state, still some democratic means should be found to prevent workers from going on strike and thereby upsetting the even tenor of capitalist endeavour.

The last phrase in the above quote is, however, the most idealistic. The *Standard* hopes for 'a lasting change in industrial relations'. So do we, of course, but we are usually dismissed as idle dreamers when we point out what is involved in seeking changes in industrial relations.

We pointed out a fortnight ago that those who support a competitive economy (and Lord Beaverbrook's papers are loud in their praise of the virtues of competition) can have no complaint when the workers begin to act upon their advice—when they begin to compete with the employers for the wealth they produce. Neither can they expect competition to bring anything but conflict. How can it? Competition is conflict, and all that the capitalists and their journalistic apologists desire is that the conflict

be joined on *their* terms and in fields where they are bound to win.

When the workers join in and, because their very lives are at stake, play a little rough, the capitalists cry 'Foul'. Free competition is one thing, class war another altogether.

The *Standard* continues (and we use this article as typical of Fleet Street) thus:

'Clearly this [i.e. the 'lasting change'] will only be achieved if the Government can intervene with authority. At present it cannot do so. Its self-imposed role has been that of neutral umpire.'

But the Government may have to change the rules of the game, as well as interpret them. If the crisis is not soon resolved, the Government will have to get a clear ruling from the country on this issue. Either the Tories will emerge victorious from the polls—with a mandate to rule the land and deal with industrial strife. Or the Socialists will be returned to power—and give the strikers a free rein.'

We can ignore the last sentence. The Government showed itself (if not more) in dead as the Conservative significant in this passage 'change the rules', and deal with industry.

These are veiled anti-strike legislation place the workers in the same position as a communist and Fascist champions of free enterprise much opposed to with the profit end of nationalisation or.

They haven't the controls over the workers. Similarly they place upon their sportsman to the rules of the game look like losing (like money) they are ashamed in suggesting rules to suit themselves.

But even this will 'lasting change in relations.' These relations.

Makarios Free - But not in Cyprus

WITH a suitable display of determination on both sides not to yield to threats or swerve from justice, Archbishop Makarios has been granted, and has accepted, permission by the British Government to leave the Seychelles. The Archbishop will be entirely free to go where he likes—except to Cyprus, and "naturally when he is a free man anyone can get into touch with him anywhere they like—except in Cyprus" (Lennox Boyd, House of Commons).

The United Nations Resolution calling for a resumption of negotiations for a "peaceful, democratic and just solution" of the Cyprus problem, has according to Makarios: created a new situation opening the

Greece, Turkey and Britain, claiming that the "international aspect" of the problem must be settled before getting down to internal affairs. This can be regarded as another excuse to postpone the question of self-determination until such a time as Britain feels her own demands on Cyprus will be assured. Makarios's claim that a new situation had been created convinces us just as little. Both sides are anxious to adopt 'face saving' tactics so familiar in power politics when changes take place and there is call for the opposing factions to come to terms, but the problems in Cyprus remain fundamentally the same as they were at the beginning of the struggle.

Why has it been necessary there-

even by means which would be to the Government.

The Greek Government expressed disapproval of the decision by NATO, but neither Turkey are anxious for communism flourishing in Cyprus. It was at the time of the Cyprus crisis when Tito was hastening to receive representation from Greece, that an agreement would be reached between the interested groups and the fear of the Kremlin.

In the meantime people go uneasily about day-to-day tasks. We must have that under the spiritual guidance of Makarios, who is very much in

anything this country has known since 1926, has shaken the whole community. The national Press, of course, is raving, but behind all the hysteria one senses one basic fear—of the strength of organised labour, and of the danger of the workers realising it.

Although, this being an official strike, the union leaders are the bogeymen at present, Fleet Street's guardians of the public good would rather see a strike led by those leaders than one where the rank and file organise themselves unofficially. While the leaders are in control, discipline can still be maintained from above and there is more than hope that 'statesmanship' will prevail.

A Lasting Change?

Some of the papers, of course, are hoping for more than that. In the *Evening Standard* for April 1st (*sic*) for example, the following pious hope was expressed:

... a clear understanding must be reached with the dissidents. A settlement must be negotiated which will both end the present dispute and produce a lasting change in industrial relations.

The Beaverbrook organ did not specify exactly what form the 'clear understanding' should take, but knowing its attitude it is safe to guess that, although the right to withdraw labour is inalienable in a free country and only made illegal

tive economy (and Lord Beaverbrook's papers are loud in their praise of the virtues of competition) can have no complaint when the workers begin to act upon their advice—when they begin to compete with the employers for the wealth they produce. Neither can they expect competition to bring anything but conflict. How can it? Competition is conflict, and all that the capitalists and their journalistic apologists desire is that the conflict

that of neutral umpire.

But the Government may have to change the rules of the game, as well as interpret them. If the crisis is not soon resolved, the Government will have to get a clear ruling from the country on this issue. Either the Tories will emerge victorious from the polls—with a mandate to rule the land and deal with industrial strife. Or the Socialists will be returned to power—and give the strikers a free rein.

nationalisation of... They haven't the controls over the... Similarly they... upon their sportsman... to the rules of the... look like losing... (like money) they... ashamed in sugges... rules to suit themse... But even this wil... 'lasting change in... tions.' These rela...

Makarios Free - But not in Cyprus

WITH a suitable display of determination on both sides not to yield to threats or swerve from justice, Archbishop Makarios has been granted, and has accepted, permission by the British Government to leave the Seychelles. The Archbishop will be entirely free to go where he likes—except to Cyprus, and "naturally when he is a free man anyone can get into touch with him anywhere they like—except in Cyprus" (Lennox Boyd, House of Commons).

The United Nations Resolution calling for a resumption of negotiations for a "peaceful, democratic and just solution" of the Cyprus problem, has according to Makarios: created a new situation opening the way for the restoration of peace on the island.

The British Government has accepted the offer made by NATO to undertake conciliation between

Greece, Turkey and Britain, claiming that the "international aspect" of the problem must be settled before getting down to internal affairs. This can be regarded as another excuse to postpone the question of self-determination until such a time as Britain feels her own demands on Cyprus will be assured. Makarios's claim that a new situation had been created convinces us just as little. Both sides are anxious to adopt 'face saving' tactics so familiar in power politics when changes take place and there is call for the opposing factions to come to terms, but the problems in Cyprus remain fundamentally the same as they were at the beginning of the struggle.

Why has it been necessary therefore for so many lives to be lost before deciding that the time is ripe for "peaceful negotiations"? The truth is that both sides thought that a military struggle would be decisive. At the time of Makarios's exile EOKA was strong, and it seems likely that the leaders though they could harrass the British sufficiently to force them into at least discussing demands on its terms. The British military forces have proved superior in strength while their moral position has been weakened. Clearly, however, both the British Government and Makarios are now anxious to make a display of conciliation. We never thought otherwise than that Makarios would eventually agree to discuss the future of Cyprus on terms acceptable to both sides.

The Government in this country is being criticised on all sides for its continued intransigence, and in recent months has taken more jolts than is good for a political party with an eye on the next election. By conditionally releasing Makarios, thus opening the way for "negotiations", they hope to hold off their critics as well as the "tough" men in their own party who are always in favour of force. But aside from the party political trickery, Cyprus is much too important to Britain to allow the unsettled state to continue much longer, if it can be avoided

even by means w... for the Governmen...

The Greek Gov... pressed disapprova... ence by NATO, b... nor Turkey are an... munism flourishing... ted at the time of... when Tito was has... to receive represen... key and Greece, t... agreement would b... interested groups... fear of the Kremlin...

In the mean... people go uneasily... to-day tasks. We... that under the spir... guidance of Mak... be very much in... problems of trying... are as difficult... prove to the Bri... whichever Govern... society will remain... same. We can o... perience will teac... like us they will ac...

Historical Note

ON the outbreak... Turkey, Nov... Cyprus was annex... Crown. The Bri... offered the island... months later, cond... latter aiding Serbi... Bulgaria. The o... Greece declined it... tion was formall... Turkey under the... sanne, ratified in 1...

23 HANGED IN A SOUTH AFRICA

Twenty-two Africa... non-whites were ha... Central Prison here... five policemen. This... ber to be hanged in... day.

They had been f... murder of two Europ... can policemen durin... for drugs in the Ber... in February, 1956.—

Passports Threat?

The *Manchester Guardian* publishes the following letter from a reader on the subject of passports:

Sir,—I have recently had a new passport and on reading the notes at the end I see that these differ from the Regulations on my previous passport.

Under "Caution" are the words: "This passport remains the property of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and may be withdrawn at any time." This threat to our freedom of travel I find alarming.—Yours, &c.

Prompted by this correspondent's discovery we examined our own passport issued in 1946 and under "Caution" we are told that our passport is a valuable document and should not be altered or allowed to pass into the possession of an unauthorised person. This warning is followed by instructions as to what one should do if one loses it. In our passport issued in 1950, still under the Bevin régime the previous warnings and advice are now preceded by the following: "This passport remains the property of His Majesty's Government and may be withdrawn if the holder ceases to be entitled to the protection of His Majesty's Government". In 1957 it would appear from the *M.G.*'s correspondent this has been further modified to "... and may be withdrawn at any time", for no particular reason, presumably? Who is the civil servant who is responsible for these cunning alterations, and on what grounds were the modifications made in the wording?

'KING MAKER' ABDICATES

LORD SALISBURY who has grandiose ideas about Britain, which he sees as a mighty power, has resigned from the Government because he disapproves of Makarios' release. As far as one can gather, Lord Salisbury is not squeamish about coming to terms with a 'terrorist' but is primarily worried about the bad effect it might have on Turkey—"our friends".

It is unlikely that his gesture will affect the Cyprus issue very much. In fact, according to an *Observer* report, there is a section in the Tory party who are pleased to see him go.

It is feared however, that the effect of his resignation on Turkey and Greece will be for them to keep up the pressure for their demands to be met. We doubt it; pressure will be increased or released according to the benefits likely to ensue. We have suggested elsewhere that it is in the interests of Britain, Greece and Turkey to come to terms before very long.

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

April 6th, 1957

Threepence

NG AS CAPITALISM LASTS

INDUSTRIAL STRIFE

unist) state, still means should be workers from thereby upset- of capitalist en-

the above quote idealistic. The a lasting change as'. So do we, are usually dis- mers when we involved in seek- trial relations.

fortnight ago port a competi- Lord Beaver-

loud in their of competition) lant when the act upon their egin to compete for the wealth er can they ex- bring anything an it? Compe- and all that the eir journalistic hat the conflict

be joined on *their* terms and in fields where they are bound to win.

When the workers join in and, because their very lives are at stake, play a little rough, the capitalists cry 'Foul'. Free competition is one thing, class war another altogether.

The *Standard* continues (and we use this article as typical of Fleet Street) thus:

'Clearly this [i.e. the 'lasting change] will only be achieved if the Government can intervene with authority. At present it cannot do so. Its self-imposed role has been that of neutral umpire.'

But the Government may have to change the rules of the game, as well as interpret them. If the crisis is not soon resolved, the Government will have to get a clear ruling from the country on this issue. Either the Tories will emerge victorious from the polls—with a mandate to rule the land and deal with industrial strife. Or the Socialists will be returned to power—and give the strikers a free rein.'

We can ignore the stupidity of the last sentence. The Labour Government showed itself as authoritarian (if not more) in dealing with strikers as the Conservatives. What is significant in this passage are the phrases 'change the rules', and 'rule the land and deal with industrial strife'.

These are veiled threats—hints of anti-strike legislation which would place the workers of this country in the same position as those in Communist and Fascist states. The champions of free enterprise are very much opposed to state interference with the profit end of capitalism, to nationalisation or trade controls. They haven't the same dislike for controls over the workers.

Similarly they pride themselves upon their sportsmanship and loyalty to the rules of the game—but if they look like losing anything serious (like money) they are quite unashamed in suggesting changing the rules to suit themselves!

But even this will not produce the 'lasting change in industrial relations.' These relations are to-day

"The wealth of the wealthy and the power of the powerful depend directly upon the poverty of the poor and the weakness of the weak."

—BARROWS DUNHAM.

the result of the inescapable conflict between two sets of people with opposing interests—the owners or controllers of industrial capital and the workers.

The former desire to pay the workers as little as possible for as much work as possible; the latter want to get as much pay as possible for no more work than gives them satisfaction. Change the free enterprise into state boards and the position is exactly the same.

The lasting change is going to come only when production and administration are carried on by the same people and when exploitation of the producers by the administrators has therefore ended. In a word, that which is going to end industrial strife is the supercession of boss control and state control by workers' control, when class conflict cannot arise because there are no conflicting classes.

While capitalism exists this is an impossibility. Its attainment means the end of capitalism in any of its forms. Will Lord Beaverbrook face up to that in the interests of the community as a whole?

IN BRIEF

KEEPING RHODESIA PURE WHITE

SALISBURY (SN. RHOD.), MARCH 28.

The Southern Rhodesian Government is considering introducing legislation to prevent illicit sexual relations between people of different races, according to the Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs, Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles, but no decision had been made yet.

The present position is governed by the Immorality and Indecency Suppression Ordinance of 1903, which makes it illegal for an African male to consort with a white woman outside marriage. It is not an offence for a European male to have illicit relations with an African female. If the law is amended it will probably be in the direction of the South African position, where sexual relations between members of different races is a punishable offence.

Attention has been focused on this matter by the recent marriage of a Southern Rhodesian African, Mr. Patrick Matimba, to a Dutch woman.

(Manchester Guardian).

MONEY WELL-SPENT

ROME, MARCH 9.

The Government has decided to spend

Makarios Free - But not in Cyprus

display of deter- both sides not to uerve from jus- karios has been epted, permis- Government to s. The Arch- rely free to go ept to Cyprus, n he is a free into touch with like—except in oyld, House of

ons Resolution tion of negotia- ful, democratic of the Cyprus ng to Makarios: on opening the

Greece, Turkey and Britain, claiming that the "international aspect" of the problem must be settled before getting down to internal affairs. This can be regarded as another excuse to postpone the question of self-determination until such a time as Britain feels her own demands on Cyprus will be assured. Makarios's claim that a new situation had been created convinces us just as little. Both sides are anxious to adopt 'face saving' tactics so familiar in power politics when changes take place and there is call for the opposing factions to come to terms, but the problems in Cyprus remain fundamentally the same as they were at the beginning of the struggle.

Why has it been necessary there-

even by means which are difficult for the Government to swallow.

The Greek Government has expressed disapproval of the interference by NATO, but neither Greece nor Turkey are anxious to see Communism flourishing, and we suggested at the time of the Suez crisis, when Tito was hastily making plans to receive representatives from Turkey and Greece, that some kind of agreement would be reached by all interested groups if only through fear of the Kremlin.

In the meantime the ordinary people go uneasily about their day-to-day tasks. We do not consider that under the spiritual and political guidance of Makarios their lot will be very much improved, but the

Lord Beaverbrook in their (of competition) taint when the act upon their begin to compete for the wealth can they ex- bring anything an it? Compe- and all that the their journalistic that the conflict

But the Government may have to change the rules of the game, as well as interpret them. If the crisis is not soon resolved, the Government will have to get a clear ruling from the country on this issue. Either the Tories will emerge victorious from the polls—with a mandate to rule the land and deal with industrial strife. Or the Socialists will be returned to power—and give the strikers a free rein.

with the profit end of capitalism, to nationalisation or trade controls. They haven't the same dislike for controls over the workers.

Similarly they pride themselves upon their sportsmanship and loyalty to the rules of the game—but if they look like losing anything serious (like money) they are quite unashamed in suggesting changing the rules to suit themselves!

But even this will not produce the 'lasting change in industrial relations.' These relations are to-day

arise because there are no conflicting classes.

While capitalism exists this is an impossibility. Its attainment means the end of capitalism in any of its forms. Will Lord Beaverbrook face up to that in the interests of the community as a whole?

IN BRIEF

KEEPING RHODESIA PURE WHITE

SALISBURY (SN. RHOD.), MARCH 28.

The Southern Rhodesian Government is considering introducing legislation to prevent illicit sexual relations between people of different races, according to the Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs, Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles, but no decision had been made yet.

The present position is governed by the Immorality and Indecency Suppression Ordinance of 1903, which makes it illegal for an African male to consort with a white woman outside marriage. It is not an offence for a European male to have illicit relations with an African female. If the law is amended it will probably be in the direction of the South African position, where sexual relations between members of different races is a punishable offence.

Attention has been focused on this matter by the recent marriage of a Southern Rhodesian African, Mr. Patrick Matimba, to a Dutch woman.

(Manchester Guardian).

MONEY WELL-SPENT

ROME, MARCH 9.

The Government has decided to spend 20,000,000,000 lire (\$32,000,000) to save Italian artistic and archaeological treasures that are in imminent danger of ruin.

A committee of experts and members of Parliament, after exhaustive research, called the Government's attention to the fact that many historical buildings famed throughout the world were in danger of collapse. Many historical paintings are in need of restoration and a great number of ancient manuscripts will be ruined within a comparatively few years unless something is done about them immediately, it was said.

The committee said, \$85,600,000 needed to be spent, with \$28,800,000 wanted for repairs that cannot be deferred, \$36,000,000 for work described as urgent and \$20,800,000 for work of a less urgent character.

(N. York Times).

It is a pleasant task to record when money is spent on saving Man's cultural heritage and not for destroying it as is more often the case.

QUOTATION CORNER

Another Voice in the Wilderness

"Those in power brook no opposition from the common man, but cleverly allow those activities which give the illusion of democracy. They will explode their bomb whether we like it or not, but not over the North Sea or the Atlantic, although they assert its harmlessness.

"We spend money we can't afford producing a weapon we daren't use in order to demonstrate our greatness to a world that knows otherwise."

—From a letter in the Observer.

Makarios Free - But not in Cyprus

display of deter- both sides not to nerve from jus- Makarios has been accepted, permis- Government to s. The Arch- rely free to go ept to Cyprus, ne he is a free into touch with like—except in oyed, House of

ons Resolution tion of negotia- ful, democratic of the Cyprus ng to Makarios: ion opening the ion of peace on

ment has ac- le by NATO to tion between

MAKARIOS' ATES

RY who has about Britain, mighty power, the Government ves of Makarios' one can gather, not squeamish ns with a 'terror- worried about ht have on Tur-

his gesture will issue very much. to an Observer tion in the Tory d to see him go. ever, that the tion on Turkey for them to keep their demands ubt it; pressure released accord- likely to ensue elsewhere that it Britain, Greece to terms before

Greece, Turkey and Britain, claiming that the "international aspect" of the problem must be settled before getting down to internal affairs. This can be regarded as another excuse to postpone the question of self-determination until such a time as Britain feels her own demands on Cyprus will be assured. Makarios's claim that a new situation had been created convinces us just as little. Both sides are anxious to adopt 'face saving' tactics so familiar in power politics when changes take place and there is call for the opposing factions to come to terms, but the problems in Cyprus remain fundamentally the same as they were at the beginning of the struggle.

Why has it been necessary therefore for so many lives to be lost before deciding that the time is ripe for "peaceful negotiations"? The truth is that both sides thought that a military struggle would be decisive. At the time of Makarios's exile EOKA was strong, and it seems likely that the leaders though they could harrass the British sufficiently to force them into at least discussing demands on its terms. The British military forces have proved superior in strength while their moral position has been weakened.

Clearly, however, both the British Government and Makarios are now anxious to make a display of conciliation. We never thought otherwise than that Makarios would eventually agree to discuss the future of Cyprus on terms acceptable to both sides.

The Government in this country is being criticised on all sides for its continued intransigence, and in recent months has taken more jolts than is good for a political party with an eye on the next election. By conditionally releasing Makarios, thus opening the way for "negotiations", they hope to hold off their critics as well as the "tough" men in their own party who are always in favour of force. But aside from the party political trickery, Cyprus is much too important to Britain to allow the unsettled state to continue much longer, if it can be avoided

even by means which are difficult for the Government to swallow.

The Greek Government has expressed disapproval of the interference by NATO, but neither Greece nor Turkey are anxious to see Communism flourishing, and we suggested at the time of the Suez crisis, when Tito was hastily making plans to receive representatives from Turkey and Greece, that some kind of agreement would be reached by all interested groups if only through fear of the Kremlin.

In the meantime the ordinary people go uneasily about their day-to-day tasks. We do not consider that under the spiritual and political guidance of Makarios their lot will be very much improved, but the problems of trying to tell them this are as difficult as attempting to prove to the British people that whichever Government they have society will remain very much the same. We can only hope that experience will teach them all, and like us they will act upon it.

Historical Note

ON the outbreak of war with Turkey, November 5th, 1914, Cyprus was annexed to the British Crown. The British Government offered the island to Greece twelve months later, conditionally upon the latter aiding Serbia, then invaded by Bulgaria. The offer lapsed when Greece declined it. British annexation was formally recognised by Turkey under the Treaty of Lausanne, ratified in 1924.

23 HANGED IN A DAY IN SOUTH AFRICA

PRETORIA, MARCH 21.

Twenty-two Africans and three other non-whites were hanged to-day in the Central Prison here for the murder of five policemen. This is the largest number to be hanged in South Africa in one day.

They had been found guilty of the murder of two European and three African policemen during a routine search for drugs in the Berville district of Natal in February, 1956.—Reuter.

E. A. BERGMAN

**THE CASE FOR INDUSTRIAL
PARTNERSHIP** by G. D. H.
Cole, Macmillan, 1957, 7/6d.

FORTY-FIVE years ago a young Oxford graduate created a local sensation in that "city of dreaming spires" when he paraded down The High advertising a paper he and his friends had just produced. The paper was *The Oxford Syndicalist* and the young man was G. D. H. Cole. Like many other student journals, *The Oxford Syndicalist* enjoyed only an ephemeral existence but its editor proved to be made of more viable material. In the intervening years he has established himself as the doyen of British socialism, the acknowledged authority on

**FREEDOM BOOKSHOP
OPEN DAILY**

(Open 10 a.m.—6.30 p.m., 5 p.m. Sats.)

New Books . . .

The Author and the Public
(ed.) C. V. Wedgwood 15/-
The Imposter Jean Cocteau 15/-
The Communist Party of the
Soviet Union B. Meissner 35/-

Reprints & Penguins . . .

Really the Blues
B. Wolfe & Mezz Mezzrow 25/-
Selected Poems and Prose
S. T. Coleridge 3/6
The Greek View of Life
G. Lowes Dickinson 13/6
Guide to English Literature,
Vol. 4, Dryden to Johnson 5/-
Group Psychotherapy
S. H. Foulkes & E. J. Anthony 3/6
The Mentality of Apes W. Kohler 3/6
Photography E. de Mare 6/-
The Twelve Cæsars Suetonius 3/6
Barchester Towers

Anthony Trollope 4/-
Against the Law
Peter Wildeblood 2/6

Baby Doll: Play
Tennessee Williams 2/6

Private's Progress A. Hackney 2/6

The Teahouse of the August Moon
V. I. Sneider 2/6

Second-Hand . . .

Darkness at Noon
Arthur Koestler 3/-

The Cross and the Arrow
Albert Maltz 3/-

Spain to-day (1936)
Edward Conze 5/-

News from Nowhere
William Morris 3/-

William Medium Edward Hyams 3/-

The Beautiful and Damned
F. Scott Fitzgerald 3/6

Seraphita Honore de Balzac 3/6

New Trends in Socialism (1935)
Catlin, Crossman, etc. 3/-

The World Co-operative
Movement Margaret Digby 3/-

Nation and Family Alva Myrdal 7/6

Journey into a Fog
Margareta Berger-Hamerschlag 8/-

Essays and Letters P. B. Shelley 3/-

Periodicals . . .

Liberation, March 1/9

N.B.—An order to the bookshop is a gift to the Press Fund.

Postage free on all items

Obtainable from

**27, RED LION STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1**

BOOK REVIEW

GUILD SOCIALISM RE-STATEMENT

working-class movements, and the most influential representative of the radical non-Marxist Left in this country.

Whether Cole was ever a 'syndicalist' may be doubted. Syndicalism—'the socialism of the proletariat'—neither expected nor looked for help from bourgeois 'theoreticians'. But his role in that peculiarly English, not to say middle-class, variant of syndicalism, Guild Socialism, is well known. During and immediately after the First World War, he became the leading theorist of the (then) new socialism and, since the disintegration of the movement in the mid-'twenties, he has remained the faithful champion of the cause of industrial democracy.

Although Guild Socialism passed away, it left as its principal legacy to British socialists the idea of industrial democracy. The concept itself is vague and ambiguous and the methods suggested for implementing it have varied but, since the hey-day of the movement, no socialist blue-print has been able to avoid at least paying lip-service to the ideal. Industrial democracy as the necessary compliment of political democracy remains an axiom of socialist thought.

However, reality resides not in axioms or slogans but in concrete proposals and actions. And from this point of view, it is undeniable that the last thirty years has seen the eclipse of syndicalist and guild socialist aspirations. Managerial socialism and not the socialism of a brotherhood of producers has been the dominant practical force. 'Has been' and remains, for the latest socialist revisionists offer no challenge to past modes of thought on this front. It is true, of course, that there is a new-found emphasis on the problem of industrial relations and a widespread recognition that, as Crosland puts it, 'nationalisation is no panacea for bad relations' and even creates problems of its own. (NOTE. See C. A. R. Crosland: *The Future of Socialism*, Cape, 1956, ch. XVI.) But the practical proposals of 'the new socialists' amount to little more than a rationalisation of existing practices and the advocacy of a more perfect joint consultation. The two sides of industry—employer and employed, management and labour—are to remain as permanent, inescapable features of industrial organisation. Until eternity, it seems, the role of the trade unions is to oppose management in the interests of the workers, while at the same time supporting, wherever possible, co-operation between management and men in the form of joint consultation.

In the context of contemporary discussion, therefore, Cole's new book appears in welcome relief. In the eyes of its author, it marks an attempt to revive Guild Socialist ideas, or rather, such of those ideas as he considers most relevant and important under the greatly changed economic conditions of to-day. Such a revival, we know, has been long awaited by its author and it is perhaps both a sign of his impatience and of the sterility of the socialist intelligentsia that he has had to take the initiative himself.

Whether or not Cole succeeds in his object—the tone of the book is sweetly reasonable and in marked contrast with the polemical character one associates with revivals and with his earlier propagandist works for Guild Socialism—it is to be hoped that it will serve to lift contemporary discussions on to a higher plane and to direct Guild Socialist sympathisers away from the blind alley in which they at present find themselves. This blind alley is the notion of workers' or trade union representation which, since the 1920's, has been regarded as the first step towards workers' control or, at least, as a satisfactory compromise between workers' control and the existing pattern of organisation.

It is fitting that Cole should repudiate this approach since he and the Guild Socialists generally were largely responsible for fostering it. In the days when the guildsmen were making the running in the Labour Movement, the notion of joint-control was put forward as an acceptable first step towards the Guild Commonwealth. By joint-control the guildsmen meant a system under which the workers through their trade unions appointed half the members of the boards set up to run publicly-owned industries, while the State appointed the other half. It was this compromise that the miners proposed to the Sankey Commission in 1919 as a step towards a fully self-governing Mining Guild. The syndicalists of that time expressly repudiated this solution and the guildsmen always insisted that anything less than a *half* share in control would be unacceptable. But it was perhaps inevitable that, once the guild movement collapsed, the protagonists of workers' control within the Labour Party and the T.U.C. should find themselves committed to the view that any representation of the workers was better than none.

The result has been intellectually disastrous for the cause of real industrial democracy. For it has been only too easy for opponents to point to the weakness of the idea of workers' representation. Once it has been admitted, for whatever reason, that the unions are unfitted to act as trustees on behalf of the community and thus to constitute themselves as the units of industrial management in a socialist society, it becomes implausible to argue that they should share control through appointing representatives to serve on management boards. For to argue so is to assert that the unions should be both *in* the government of industry and *outside* it. If the unions are to remain partly outside industrial government, it must be because they have a function to perform: to defend their members' interests *vis-à-vis* those of the management. But how can they perform this role satisfactorily if, at the same time, they are partly responsible, through their representatives, for managerial decisions? The two roles inevitably conflict.

Confronted with this logic the advocates of workers' representation have faltered and floundered. The idea of workers' representation has been success-

ively whittled away on management half; if such men appointed by the least nominated by at least one trade appointed by the finally we reach 'more trade union trade unionists', on

Now, somewhat cedes the point. representatives at all. to remain wholly ernment; they are finally protective of the interests of the from the responsibility. The concession is for it involves real central tenets of and guild socialist organisations established to defend their interests can become the industrial society. that does not involve a major tenet of the control. On the way for a re-affirmation. The advocates of now seize the initiative kicked into the line the opponents of could with some forward as *defending* dom. In stressing of the unions, they were preserving the *vis-à-vis* management of workers' representation of conceding a share in control. ill-fated dogma, the ers' control can remain at the same time as their opponents' freedom.

The ground chooses to renege. In concentrating on developing a new it was the classical popularised the no. The Guild Socialists perhaps partly ex workers' representation doctrine and why cially adheres to a governing postal s workers who set th among non-manu most conscious of status *vis-à-vis* the class). The gravest wage-slavery, which ists like Crosland cavalierly, was th worker would in n for the worse, be a State Socialism: main essentially a factor of production being with inali Socialism was on State Capitalism.

S. H. Foulkes & E. J. Aronley	3/6
The Mentality of Apes W. Köhler	3/6
Photography E. de Mare	6/-
The Twelve Cæsars Suetonius	3/6
Barchester Towers	
Anthony Trollope	4/-
Against the Law	
Peter Wildeblood	2/6
Baby Doll: Play	
Tennessee Williams	2/6
Private's Progress A. Hackney	2/6
The Teahouse of the August Moon	
V. I. Sneider	2/6

Second-Hand . . .

Darkness at Noon	
Arthur Koestler	3/-
The Cross and the Arrow	
Albert Maltz	3/-
Spain to-day (1936)	
Edward Conze	5/-
News from Nowhere	
William Morris	3/-
William Medium Edward Hyams	3/-
The Beautiful and Damned	
F. Scott Fitzgerald	3/6
Seraphita Honore de Balzac	3/6
New Trends in Socialism (1935)	
Catlin, Crossman, etc.	3/-
The World Co-operative	
Movement Margaret Digby	3/-
Nation and Family Alva Myrdal	7/6
Journey into a Fog	
Margareta Berger-Hamerschlag	8/-
Essays and Letters P. B. Shelley	3/-

Periodicals . . .

Liberation, March	1/9
N.B.—An order to the bookshop is a gift to the Press Fund.	

Postage free on all items

Obtainable from

**27, RED LION STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1**

guild socialist aspirations. Managerial socialism and not the socialism of a brotherhood of producers has been the dominant practical force. 'Has been' and remains, for the latest socialist revisionists offer no challenge to past modes of thought on this front. It is true, of course, that there is a new-found emphasis on the problem of industrial relations and a widespread recognition that, as Crosland puts it, 'nationalisation is no panacea for bad relations' and even creates problems of its own. (NOTE. See C. A. R. Crosland: *The Future of Socialism*, Cape, 1956, ch. XVI). But the practical proposals of 'the new socialists' amount to little more than a rationalisation of existing practices and the advocacy of a more perfect joint consultation. The two sides of industry—employer and employed, management and labour—are to remain as permanent, inescapable features of industrial organisation. Until eternity, it seems, the role of the trade unions is to oppose management in the interests of the workers, while at the same time supporting, wherever possible, co-operation between management and men in the form of joint consultation.

In the context of contemporary discussion, therefore, Cole's new book appears in welcome relief. In the eyes of its author, it marks an attempt to revive Guild Socialist ideas, or rather, such of those ideas as he considers most relevant and important under the greatly changed economic conditions of to-day. Such a revival, we know, has been long awaited by its author and it is perhaps both a sign of his impatience and of the sterility of the socialist intelligentsia that he has had to take the initiative himself.

ists of that time expressly repudiated this solution and the guildsmen always insisted that anything less than a *half* share in control would be unacceptable. But it was perhaps inevitable that, once the guild movement collapsed, the protagonists of workers' control within the Labour Party and the T.U.C. should find themselves committed to the view that *any* representation of the workers was better than none.

The result has been intellectually disastrous for the cause of real industrial democracy. For it has been only too easy for opponents to point to the weakness of the idea of workers' representation. Once it has been admitted, for whatever reason, that the unions are unfitted to act as trustees on behalf of the community and thus to constitute themselves as the units of industrial management in a socialist society, it becomes implausible to argue that they should share control through appointing representatives to serve on management boards. For to argue so is to assert that the unions should be both *in* the government of industry and *outside* it. If the unions are to remain partly outside industrial government, it must be because they have a function to perform: to defend their members' interests *vis-à-vis* those of the management. But how can they perform this role satisfactorily if, at the same time, they are partly responsible, through their representatives, for managerial decisions? The two roles inevitably conflict.

Confronted with this logic the advocates of workers' representation have faltered and floundered. The idea of workers' representation has been success-

could with some forward as *defence* of the unions, they were preserving the *vis-à-vis* management of workers' representation of conceding a share in control. ill-fated dogma, *workers' control* can be at the same time their opponents' *dom*.

The ground chooses to renege. In concentrating on developing an *it was the classic* popularised the *The Guild Social* perhaps partly *workers' response* doctrine and why *cially adheres to* governing postal *workers who set th* among non-manu *most conscious of* status *vis-à-vis* (the *class*). The grava *wage-slavery, whic* *ists like Crosland* cavalierly, was *worker would in r* for the worse, be *State Socialism:* main essentially a *factor of producti* being with inal *Socialism was or* State Capitalism.

Some Factors Affecting Emotional Development

(Continued from previous issue)

It might be mentioned at this point that there is no foundation for the belief (which appears to date from Victorian times) that active participation in sporting activities has a sublimating effect on sexual tension. This is not suggesting that sports and games do not have an important place in physical development but there is no justification for the compulsory participation prevalent in some schools. To force a child whose interests lie elsewhere into an activity which he or she hates can do great psychological harm. The youngster should be reassured that he or she is not in any way inferior to his or her contemporaries who have been conditioned to regard prowess at games as the most desirable aim in life. The normal child with unimpaired emotional stability will be found to obtain sufficient bodily exercise by non-sporting activities provided circumstances are favourable. Compulsory games can also be objected to on social grounds in that they encourage the undesirable quality of conformity and tend to lead to antagonism towards the expression of individuality.

Particularly barbaric is the practice, once common, and possibly still to be found, in institutions, of attempting to deaden the sex urge of male adolescents by the administration of anaphrodisiacs such as potassium bromide. This is not only barbaric but physically dangerous³¹.

Again it should be emphasized that the acceptance of masturbation as a normal occurrence in the adolescent does not in any way mean that it is a practice which should be actively encouraged—although in permissive societies such as, for example, the Hopi Indians³², where parents actually masturbate their children no harm seems to result. But in such communities the whole structure of society is different and too great a departure from the environmental norm may

have as deleterious an effect as the rigid adherence to anti-sexual obscurantism. As with the young child, circumstances should be avoided which might result in undue genital fixation. Genital cleanliness in particular, a hygienic necessity at any age, is of very great importance at adolescence because of the increase in the production of smegma during this period.

But again parents should be reminded that variations of individual constitution prevent any hard and fast rule for normal indulgence in masturbation to be laid down. As was mentioned in discussing infantile masturbation, the parent who suspects emotional trouble in his child and who has no cause to attribute it to outside factors should consider his own parent-child relationship.

Very many parents seem unaware of the dangers of corporal punishment to the normal sexual development of the child³³. Spanking, caning and the like very frequently produce erections in a boy or similar erotic sensations in a girl and may not only unduly encourage masturbation but, by associating pain with sexual pleasure, result, in extreme cases, in such sexual deviations as *sadism*, *masochism* or *flagellomania*. Even if there is no such end-product the custom of correcting children in this way can never be justified. The practice has a general brutalizing effect on the child (not to mention the parent or teacher utilizing such methods of correction) and unnecessarily aggravates aggressive tendencies. The bully at school is often the child harshly treated at home. Corporal punishment administered to a nervous child can be particularly disastrous. The adult who resorts to such corrective measures is not only displaying defeat but showing, possibly subconscious, sadistic tendencies and hatred of the child. It is a form of punishment which seems most prevalent among Anglo-Saxons (on the Continent flagellation is known as *le vice anglais*)^{34 35}.

BOOK REVIEW

GUILD SOCIALISM RE-STATED

ments, and the most
ative of the radical
this country.

as ever a 'syndicalist'
Syndicalism — 'the
olietariat'—neither ex-
for help from bour-
ish, not to say middle-
syndicalism, Guild
known. During and
the First World War,
ding theorist of the m-
and, since the dis-
movement in the mid-
remained the faithful
cause of industrial

ocialism passed away,
pal legacy to British
of industrial demo-
itself is vague and
e methods suggested
have varied but, since
movement, no social-
ism able to avoid at
ice to the ideal. In-
as the necessary
ritical democracy re-
socialist thought.

resides not in axioms
concrete proposals and
this point of view,
the last thirty years
of syndicalist and
rations. Managerial
the socialism of the
ducers has been the
force. 'Has been'
the latest socialist re-
alliance to past modes
front. It is true, of
a new-found empha-
of industrial relations
recognition that, as
ationalisation is no
relations' and even
its own. (NOTE. See
The Future of Social-
ch. XVI). But the
of 'the new socialists'
re than a rationalisa-
ices and the advocacy
joint consultation.
ustry—employer and
ent and labour—are
manent, inescapable
organisation. Until
the role of the trade
management in the
ers, while at the same
erever possible, co-
management and men
consultation.

contemporary discus-
s new book appears
In the eyes of its
a attempt to revive
s, or rather, such of
nsiders most relevant
the greatly changed
of to-day. Such a
has been long awaited
it is perhaps both a
ce and of the steril-
intelligentsia that he
the initiative himself.

Whether or not Cole succeeds in his
object—the tone of the book is sweetly
reasonable and in marked contrast with
the polemical character one associates
with revivals and with his earlier propa-
gandist works for Guild Socialism—it is
to be hoped that it will serve to lift con-
temporary discussions on to a higher
plane and to direct Guild Socialist sym-
pathisers away from the blind alley in
which they at present find themselves.
This blind alley is the notion of workers'
or trade union representation which, since
the 1920's, has been regarded as the first
step towards workers' control or, at least,
as a satisfactory compromise between
workers' control and the existing pattern
of organisation.

It is fitting that Cole should repudiate
this approach since he and the Guild
Socialists generally were largely respon-
sible for fostering it. In the days when
the guildsmen were making the running
in the Labour Movement, the notion of
joint-control was put forward as an
acceptable first step towards the Guild
Commonwealth. By joint-control the
guildsmen meant a system under which
the workers through their trade unions
appointed half the members of the boards
set up to run publicly-owned industries,
while the State appointed the other half.
It was this compromise that the miners
proposed to the Sankey Commission in
1919 as a step towards a fully self-
governing Mining Guild. The syndical-
ists of that time expressly repudiated this
solution and the guildsmen always insis-
ted that anything less than a *half* share
in control would be unacceptable. But
it was perhaps inevitable that, once the
guild movement collapsed, the protagon-
ists of workers' control within the Labour
Party and the T.U.C. should find them-
selves committed to the view that *any*
representation of the workers was better
than none.

The result has been intellectually dis-
astrous for the cause of real industrial
democracy. For it has been only too
easy for opponents to point to the weak-
ness of the idea of workers' representa-
tion. Once it has been admitted, for
whatever reason, that the unions are un-
fitted to act as trustees on behalf of the
community and thus to constitute them-
selves as the units of industrial manage-
ment in a socialist society, it becomes im-
plausible to argue that they should share
control through appointing representa-
tives to serve on management boards.
For to argue so is to assert that the
unions should be both *in* the government
of industry and *outside* it. If the unions
are to remain partly outside industrial
government, it must be because they have
a function to perform: to defend their
members' interests *vis-à-vis* those of the
management. But how can they perform
this role satisfactorily if, at the same time,
they are partly responsible, through their
representatives, for managerial decisions?
The two roles inevitably conflict.

Confronted with this logic the advoc-
ates of workers' representation have
faltered and floundered. The idea of
workers' representation has been success-

ively whittled away. If not half the seats
on management boards, then less than
half; if such members are not to be
appointed by the trade unions, then at
least nominated by the trade unions; if
not nominated by the trade unions, then
at least one trade union leader to be
appointed by the government; until
finally we reach the feeble demand for
'more trade unionists', meaning 'more ex-
trade unionists', on the boards.

Now, somewhat belatedly, Cole con-
cedes the point. No trade union repre-
sentatives at all. The trade unions are
to remain wholly outside industrial gov-
ernment; they are to continue as essen-
tially protective organisations defending
the interests of their members and free
from the responsibilities of management.
The concession is apparently a large one,
for it involves relinquishing one of the
central tenets of traditional syndicalist
and guild socialist orthodoxy, that the
organisations established by the workers
to defend their interests in existing society
can become the nuclei of the future in-
dustrial society. But it is a concession
that does not involve relinquishing the
major tenet of the old faith: workers'
control. On the contrary, it clears the
way for a re-affirmation of this doctrine.
The advocates of workers' control can
now seize the initiative; the ball can be
kicked into the other half. Previously,
the opponents of workers' representation
could with some justice put themselves
forward as *defenders* of industrial free-
dom. In stressing the opposition role
of the unions, they could claim that they
were preserving the rights of the workers
vis-à-vis management which the advocates
of workers' representation were in dan-
ger of conceding in return for a dubious
share in control. Unburdened by this
ill-fated dogma, the advocates of work-
ers' control can re-shape their forces and
at the same time test the genuineness of
their opponents' faith in industrial free-
dom.

The ground on which Cole now
chooses to reney the fight is that of status.
In concentrating on this field, he is not
developing any new doctrine. Indeed,
it was the classical guildsmen who first
popularised the notion of status. (NOTE:
The Guild Socialist emphasis on status
perhaps partly explains why the postal
workers responded so readily to the
doctrine and why the U.P.W. still offi-
cially adheres to the objective of a self-
governing postal service. As white-collar
workers who set the pace for unionisation
among non-manual workers they were
most conscious of their ambiguous social
status *vis-à-vis* the rest of the working
class). The gravamen of their theory of
wage-slavery, which bright young social-
ists like Crosland now dismiss so
cavalierly, was that the status of the
worker would in no way, except possibly
for the worse, be altered by bureaucratic
State Socialism: the worker would re-
main essentially a commodity, a thing, a
factor of production rather than a human
being with inalienable rights. State
Socialism was only another name for
State Capitalism.

No doubt the guild socialist point was
exaggerated and no doubt the situation
has improved since it was first made.
All the fashionable talk of human re-
lations in industry is at least a sign that
employers are beginning to recognise the
man in the worker and not merely the
worker in the man. Both Cole and
Crosland agree—and who would deny it?
—that over the last twenty years the
position of the workers as a class has
greatly improved; mainly, be it said, as
a consequence of full-employment but
no doubt partly in response to humani-
tarian ideas. But it is equally undeniable
—and recent strikes serve only to under-
line it—that the status of the worker
remains essentially inferior. Power is
only one of the determinants of status
and the fact that to-day the workers are
collectively more powerful than ever
before and perhaps even on occasions
able to dictate to management, does not
alter that truth. The difference between
Cole and Crosland lies in the fact that,
whereas the latter—contrary to the gen-
eral tenor of his thought, which emphasises
the ideal of social equality—is broadly
satisfied with the *status quo*, Cole re-
mains resolutely opposed to the insuffer-
able hypothesis that industrial organisa-
tion must for ever be conceived in strati-
fied terms.

As an alternative to the present posi-
tion, Cole advocates the explicit recogni-
tion, in both public and private enter-
prise, of the worker as a partner. "I
mean by partnership," he says, "a status
in the enterprise which protects the
worker from being dismissed, except on
account of some fault of his own suffi-
cient to merit dismissal, without being
at the same time transferred to a partner-
ship in some other enterprise in which
his services can be appropriately used or,
in default of such immediate transfer,
being maintained on the strength of the
enterprise he is leaving until an appro-
priate transfer can be arranged and, in
the meantime, receiving any training that
may be needed to fit him for his new
employment". The idea, it will be seen,
is by no means novel. It is one which
is implicitly recognised at present in
several spheres of employment—middle
class employment. No University teacher
or Civil Servant, for example, is subject
to the law of supply and demand as far
as his labour is concerned. What is novel
is the idea that this status should be uni-
versalised and applied to all. And the
effect of the universalisation of this status
would be a significant revolution in social
relations.

Nor is this all. For, as Cole points
out, the changed status of the worker
which he envisages would call for a re-
consideration of the entire structure of
working relations inside the workplace,
especially with regard to discipline and
promotion. The latter are to-day gen-
erally recognised as within the province

Continued on p. 3

**DON'T FORGET
THE FPFF★!**

★Freedom Press Fire Fund

the socialism of a producers has been the force. 'Has been' the latest socialist challenge to past modes front. It is true, of a new-found emphasis of industrial relations recognition that, as nationalisation is no relations' and even its own. (NOTE: See *The Future of Socialism*, XVI). But the of 'the new socialists' are than a rationalisation and the advocacy of joint consultation. Industry—employer and labour—are permanent, inescapable organisation. Until the role of the trade union management in the workers, while at the same time, wherever possible, co-management and men joint consultation. contemporary discussion's new book appears. In the eyes of its attempt to revive is, or rather, such of considers most relevant of the greatly changed of to-day. Such a has been long awaited it is perhaps both a force and of the sterile intelligentsia that he the initiative himself.

ists of that time expressly repudiated this solution and the guildsmen always insisted that anything less than a half share in control would be unacceptable. But it was perhaps inevitable that, once the guild movement collapsed, the protagonists of workers' control within the Labour Party and the T.U.C. should find themselves committed to the view that any representation of the workers was better than none.

The result has been intellectually disastrous for the cause of real industrial democracy. For it has been only too easy for opponents to point to the weakness of the idea of workers' representation. Once it has been admitted, for whatever reason, that the unions are unfitted to act as trustees on behalf of the community and thus to constitute themselves as the units of industrial management in a socialist society, it becomes implausible to argue that they should share control through appointing representatives to serve on management boards. For to argue so is to assert that the unions should be both in the government of industry and outside it. If the unions are to remain partly outside industrial government, it must be because they have a function to perform: to defend their members' interests *vis-à-vis* those of the management. But how can they perform this role satisfactorily if, at the same time, they are partly responsible, through their representatives, for managerial decisions? The two roles inevitably conflict.

Confronted with this logic the advocates of workers' representation have faltered and floundered. The idea of workers' representation has been success-

forward as *defenders* of industrial freedom. In stressing the opposition role of the unions, they could claim that they were preserving the rights of the workers *vis-à-vis* management which the advocates of workers' representation were in danger of conceding in return for a dubious share in control. Unburdened by this ill-fated dogma, the advocates of workers' control can re-shape their forces and at the same time test the genuineness of their opponents' faith in industrial freedom.

The ground on which Cole now chooses to renege the fight is that of status. In concentrating on this field, he is not developing any new doctrine. Indeed, it was the classical guildsmen who first popularised the notion of status. (NOTE: The Guild Socialist emphasis on status perhaps partly explains why the postal workers responded so readily to the doctrine and why the U.P.W. still officially adheres to the objective of a self-governing postal service. As white-collar workers who set the pace for unionisation among non-manual workers they were most conscious of their ambiguous social status *vis-à-vis* the rest of the working class). The gravamen of their theory of wage-slavery, which bright young socialists like Crosland now dismiss so cavalierly, was that the status of the worker would in no way, except possibly for the worse, be altered by bureaucratic State Socialism: the worker would remain essentially a commodity, a thing, a factor of production rather than a human being with inalienable rights. State Socialism was only another name for State Capitalism.

client to merit dismissal, without being at the same time transferred to a partnership in some other enterprise in which his services can be appropriately used or, in default of such immediate transfer, being maintained on the strength of the enterprise he is leaving until an appropriate transfer can be arranged and, in the meantime, receiving any training that may be needed to fit him for his new employment". The idea, it will be seen, is by no means novel. It is one which is implicitly recognised at present in several spheres of employment—middle class employment. No University teacher or Civil Servant, for example, is subject to the law of supply and demand as far as his labour is concerned. What is novel is the idea that this status should be universalised and applied to all. And the effect of the universalisation of this status would be a significant revolution in social relations.

Nor is this all. For, as Cole points out, the changed status of the worker which he envisages would call for a reconsideration of the entire structure of working relations inside the workplace, especially with regard to discipline and promotion. The latter are to-day generally recognised as within the province

☛ Continued on p. 3

DON'T FORGET THE FPFF★!

★Freedom Press Fire Fund

Protecting Emotional Development in Children—8

have as deleterious an effect as the rigid adherence to anti-sexual obscurantism. As with the young child, circumstances should be avoided which might result in undue genital fixation. Genital cleanliness in particular, a hygienic necessity at any age, is of very great importance at adolescence because of the increase in the production of smegma during this period.

But again parents should be reminded that variations of individual constitution prevent any hard and fast rule for normal indulgence in masturbation to be laid down. As was mentioned in discussing infantile masturbation, the parent who suspects emotional trouble in his child and who has no cause to attribute it to outside factors should consider his own parent-child relationship.

Very many parents seem unaware of the dangers of corporal punishment to the normal sexual development of the child³³. Spanking, caning and the like very frequently produce erections in a boy or similar erotic sensations in a girl and may not only unduly encourage masturbation but, by associating pain with sexual pleasure, result, in extreme cases, in such sexual deviations as *sadism*, *masochism* or *flagellomania*. Even if there is no such end-product the custom of correcting children in this way can never be justified. The practice has a general brutalizing effect on the child (not to mention the parent or teacher utilizing such methods of correction) and unnecessarily aggravates aggressive tendencies. The bully at school is often the child harshly treated at home. Corporal punishment administered to a nervous child can be particularly disastrous. The adult who resorts to such corrective measures is not only displaying defeat but showing, possibly subconscious, sadistic tendencies and hatred of the child. It is a form of punishment which seems most prevalent among Anglo-Saxons (on the Continent flagellation is known as *le vice anglais*)^{34 35}.

The law of this country unfortunately permits "reasonable" parental chastisement of the child but as no two people will agree as to what constitutes "reasonable" punishment and because, as mentioned above, the effects of such actions on the child can be far more disastrous psychologically than a similar assault (which is illegal) would be upon an adult, it would be better if all such behaviour towards a child (who is powerless against aggression) was covered by the law protecting the individual against assault.

Masturbation as a relief from sexual tension is, of course, much more widespread than it need be in our society because of the present-day tendency to artificially increase the duration of adolescence. The law and social conventions tend to delay—in the conforming individual—normal sexual intercourse until an unnaturally late age—indeed well into, or beyond, the period of optimum desire. Here again we see the irrationality of the sex-armoured adults who deny mature youngsters a normal sex outlet and at the same time endeavour to prevent them seeking relief from tension by other means. Perhaps the sanest attitude towards adolescent sexual activity is that to be found in Sweden or in the Kibbutzim in Israel.

(To be continued)

A.C.F.C.

³¹ See: Oliven: "Sexual Hygiene and Pathology".

³² See: Ford & Beach: "Patterns of Sexual Behaviour".

³³ See any modern book on the sexual perversions; also Beigel: "Encyclopedia of Sex Education"; Oliven: "Sexual Hygiene and Pathology".

³⁴ The English adherence to this form of punishment is amply demonstrated in Gorer: "Exploring English Character".

³⁵ Excellent discussions of the problem of punishment can be found in: Ellis (ed.): "Child Health and Development"; Burns: "Mal-adjusted Children"; see also Allendy & Lobstein: "Sex Problems in School". Attitudes towards punishment are discussed in Mead & Wolfenstein: "Childhood in Contemporary Cultures".

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Vol. 18, No. 14.

April 6, 1957

Reflections on Human Problems and Political 'Crises'

A SOCIETY in which there were no problems would hardly be human in the most positive sense of that word. It would be no more than a robot society in which stability could be guaranteed simply by tightening a nut here or by replacing a worn part there. But for human beings it is not so simple as that. We do not start life in a lifeless desert or on virgin soil. Unequipped intellectually, physically and materially, we enter a society in which thought has been hardened into dogma; we are naked and weak in a world of adults; and powerless to sustain life without a provider in constant attendance. Unlike those packets of tested flower seeds, each one of which is guaranteed to produce a flower identical with the illustration on the packet, human seeds are unpredictable, everyone is different, each is itself, with its own potentialities for growth and development. The new-born inherits the good and the bad of the past but theoretically to him belongs the future. For he enters the world with an open mind!

But, not content with having passed on to him the physical traits of his forefathers, society proceeds to stuff that open mind with all its prejudices as well, so that by the time our young person has reached an age where his intellectual faculties would at last allow him to be himself, he has more likely than not become a carbon copy of his immediate environment, quite unable to break away from the patterns of thought and behaviour which were mixed in with his mother's milk.

★

EDUCATION, that is, the compulsory inculcation of the Three R's, far from cultivating the potentialities of the human imagination and liberating the mind from the dead weight of traditional thought, has been devised so as to fit the young person to take his or her place as an efficient cog in the wheel of industrial society, and to this end killing all imagination and fantasy. (Even at University level it is notorious that honours degrees are more

THE AUTHOR AND THE PUBLIC. P.E.N. Congress Report. (Hutchinson, 15s.).

PEOPLE who attend congresses do so for a variety of reasons. There are those motivated by self-interest, others passing time, others curious or fulfilling a duty, others forming an unsociable minority devoted to the purpose of the particular congress.

International congresses of writers are distinguished by the number of middle-aged ladies who wear different fashions every day, elderly ladies famous for writing thrillers, virgins—male and female—who in their works examine intimate emotional relationships, foreigners who have no knowledge of the one or two languages to be used, and very important people whose names are down to appear and whose telegrams of good wishes are read out on the first morning. There is also an abundance of politeness and a warm readiness to pass plates of sandwiches.

The pretence that congresses are of outstanding importance is naturally fostered by those taking part, particularly in the atmosphere of the conference hall, and the occasion can usually be shown to have been fruitful in one way or another, even if this is limited to a resolution or the venue of the next congress. Last summer the international P.E.N. Congress took place in London and an attempt to give it more than usual significance has been made with the publication of the various speeches.

The theme of the congress was The Author and the Public—Problems of Communication—and as the report shows, it was divided into sections on Criticism, the Technique of the New Mass-Communication Media, Contemporary Technique in Fiction, and so on. Reading this report one is immediately aware of the disadvantage of such a step. The contributions were prepared as speeches and, as such, relied on a looser, even intimate, approach which cannot be carried into print. A play is not the same in book form and there is always a theatrical element about the assembly of people.

Despite this, however, and as was evident at the congress, the report reveals a distinct division between professionals and amateurs. The professional—to define him—is one who is aware of his public, creates to please them, is usually successful in the worldly sense, is essentially a craftsman, and at congresses of this nature is self-consciously on the defensive. An example of this came in J. B. Priestley's statement of the theme, which opened the discussion—"I believe

Of course, there was much in it that we did not understand, or of which we missed the deeper sense. But do not the bewitching powers of all studies lie in that they continually open up to us new and unsuspected horizons, not yet understood which entice us to proceed farther and farther in the penetration of what

BOOK REVIEW

AN ABSENCE OF PURPOSE

that the writer should go after his audience wherever that audience may be. That he or she should try not to limit his or her work to the printed word.' And, 'Therefore, if we think of ourselves not simply as exponents of the printed word, but as creators, as makers, as inventors; as belonging to one of those eternal types I mentioned earlier, we should go for the audience wherever it may be found and try to learn those new techniques demanded by the new media.'

This attack on literature and literary values was followed by Mr. Priestley's immediate departure from the conference hall, and he was not seen again.

★

THE amateurs—to return to definition and therefore the more militant, are those still involved in a struggle with their chosen medium, make fewer concessions to their public, have not forgotten their earlier idealism and, as Angus Wilson said: 'The value of the creative writer lies in the intensity and individuality of his personal vision . . . To keep his vision alive, then, the writer, by whatever peculiar and personal pattern he chooses, must be an involved person. This is the first and absolute necessity.'

A second division that was apparent concerned the impact of television,

whether it had achieved so deserved a writer's or whether it was a hindrance. A few writers, come to the medium, many revealing a weakening to temptation, die-hards resolutely ed. 'There is a public lying in wait for things and that is estimated that as two both in France and submit that that is a lasting value in the have to reach.'

Elmer Rice fairly situation with America are witnessing a phase entirely new, and with the industrialisation of other words, where was a creative individual up his poems or his or his essay, whatever and then found a publisher, or an editor almost complete revelation. We have a great industrial revolution, basically technological, creativeness but gimmicky gadgets that this universal distribution the writer is a cog in

Guild Socialism

of managerial prerogatives, although the organised workers may on occasions exert some influence on decisions in this sphere.

In outlining his proposals, Cole draws a distinction between lower management, on the one hand, and higher and technical management, on the other. The function of the former is primarily supervision of workers at the point of production, the management of men in face-to-face groups. The function of the latter is primarily the administration of things—the co-ordination of all the factors of production, the planning and execution of the processes of production and marketing, and so on—not involving direct contact with rank-and-file workers.

The status of partnership implies that rank-and-file workers must be allowed a share in deciding under whose orders and supervision their daily work is done. Foremen and supervisors, therefore, should normally be elected by the groups they work with and removable by them, with the proviso that, where necessary, the choice in election should be limited

to properly qualified persons. The choice of supervisors and group would deeply of the group itself by a team working under not under an external discipline." This change lead to further improvement of the work relation of the worker establishment as a group was carrying a definite, identifiable being paid individually enter into a collective management. In return sufficient to cover a trade union rate for a group would undertake specified amount of work itself allocating the work its members and arrangements to suit its own an arrangement, which advocated by Hyacinth adopted in a number would have the effect members of the work

life, "I owe more than to any man living or dead":

Long ere Carlyle, or Emerson, or Whitman, or Morris had come into my ken, and ere their message would have any meaning to me even had I access to their writings, I had imbibed the liberty-loving

of such a society and positive in the sense of force in society, and proof of the real sense of community kind: the crises of

one of which is guaranteed to produce a flower identical with the illustration on the packet, human seeds are unpredictable, everyone is different, each is itself, with its own potentialities for growth and development. The new-born inherits the good and the bad of the past but theoretically to him belongs the future. For he enters the world with an open mind!

But, not content with having passed on to him the physical traits of his forefathers, society proceeds to stuff that open mind with all its prejudices as well, so that by the time our young person has reached an age where his intellectual faculties would at last allow him to be himself, he has more likely than not become a carbon copy of his immediate environment, quite unable to break away from the patterns of thought and behaviour which were mixed in with his mother's milk.

★

EDUCATION, that is, the compulsory inculcation of the Three R's, far from cultivating the potentialities of the human imagination and liberating the mind from the dead weight of traditional thought, has been devised so as to fit the young person to take his or her place as an efficient cog in the wheel of industrial society, and to this end killing all imagination and fantasy. (Even at University level it is notorious that honours degrees are more often awarded to those students who play-up to the examining professors' theories and *bêtes-noires* than to those whose critical faculties and imagination lead them along unconformist paths).

From our reading of biographies and autobiographies we have come to the conclusion that education it would seem serves really positive ends only where it springs from a desire for knowledge or where it has been used to awaken intellectual curiosity.

Two extreme examples which come to mind are of Kropotkin and Keir Hardie. The former, born into an aristocratic family compensated for a ghastly father with teachers who stimulated his youthful interests in literary and scientific subjects. Thus one reads in his unforgettable *Memoirs* of Professor Klasovsky's first lesson which "was a revelation to us":

He was to teach us Russian grammar; but instead of the dull grammar lesson, we heard something quite different from what we expected. It was grammar: but here came in a comparison of an old Russian folk-lore expression with a line from Homer or from the Sanskrit Mahabharata, the beauty of which was rendered in Russian words; there, a verse from Schiller was introduced, and was followed by a sarcastic remark about some modern society prejudice; then solid grammar again, and then some wide poetical or philosophical generalization.

Last summer the international P.E.N. Congress took place in London and an attempt to give it more than usual significance has been made with the publication of the various speeches.

The theme of the congress was The Author and the Public—Problems of Communication—and as the report shows, it was divided into sections on Criticism, the Technique of the New Mass-Communication Media, Contemporary Technique in Fiction, and so on. Reading this report one is immediately aware of the disadvantage of such a step. The contributions were prepared as speeches and, as such, relied on a looser, even intimate, approach which cannot be carried into print. A play is not the same in book form and there is always a theatrical element about the assembly of people.

Despite this, however, and as was evident at the congress, the report reveals a distinct division between professionals and amateurs. The professional—to define him—is one who is aware of his public, creates to please them, is usually successful in the worldly sense, is essentially a craftsman, and at congresses of this nature is self-consciously on the defensive. An example of this came in J. B. Priestley's statement of the theme, which opened the discussion—"I believe

Of course, there was much in it that we did not understand, or of which we missed the deeper sense. But do not the bewitching powers of all studies lie in that they continually open up to us new and unsuspected horizons, not yet understood which entice us to proceed farther and farther in the penetration of what appears at first sight only in vague outline? . . . Upon me Klasovsky had an immense influence, which only grew with the years.

Keir Hardy, on the other hand did not go to school. At the age of eight he was sent out to work as a message boy, then he got a job heating rivets in a Glasgow shipyard and when he was ten years old he was down in the pits, from six in the morning until half-past five at night. Even on Sundays he had to work four hours in the pit. Yet such was his thirst for knowledge that he taught himself to read and write. His biographer, Emrys Hughes, describes his efforts in these terms*:

Slowly, laboriously, patiently, the young miner had learned to read and to write. He had first learned to spell by looking at the opened-out picture books in the stationers' shops in Glasgow. His mother had taught him to read but he was fifteen before he could write.

He went to Fraser's night school in Holytown and shortly afterwards began to learn shorthand, practising writing the characters at spare moments in the pit on a slate smoked from his miner's lamp. He spent his spare money on books and was desperately anxious to learn.

Literacy was a means to an end. It introduced him to the poetry of Burns to whom, he wrote in later

**Keir Hardy* by Emrys Hughes, (Allen & Unwin, 15s.).

Guild Socialism

of managerial prerogatives, although the organised workers may on occasions exert some influence on decisions in this sphere.

In outlining his proposals, Cole draws a distinction between lower management, on the one hand, and higher and technical management, on the other. The function of the former is primarily supervision of workers at the point of production, the management of men in face-to-face groups. The function of the latter is primarily the administration of things—the co-ordination of all the factors of production, the planning and execution of the processes of production and marketing, and so on—not involving direct contact with rank-and-file workers.

The status of partnership implies that rang-and-file workers must be allowed a share in deciding under whose orders and supervision their daily work is done. Foremen and supervisors, therefore, should normally be elected by the groups they work with and removable by them, with the proviso that, where necessary, the choice in election should be limited

to properly qualified choice of supervisor group would deeply of the group itself be a team working under not under an external discipline." This change lead to further improvement of the relation of the work establishment as a group was carrying a definite, identifiable being paid individual enter into a collective management. In return sufficient to cover at trade union rate for group would under specified amount of work itself allocating the work its members and arrangements to suit its own an arrangement, which advocated by Hyacinth adopted in a number would have the effect members of the work

life, "I owe more than to any man living or dead":

Long ere Carlyle, or Emerson, or Whitman, or Morris had come into my ken, and ere their message would have any meaning to me even had I access to their writings, I had imbibed the liberty-loving spirit and humanitarianism of Burns.

He expressed for me as a boy my better self and gave form and substance to my half-formed thoughts and vague feelings.

Most people in this country and America can read and write. That they are happier or intellectually richer than say the people of Spain and Italy, where there is much illiteracy, is difficult to state categorically. So many people are literate only because schooling is compulsory but the use of their literacy does not in fact go beyond reading the headlines of the national press, filling in time-sheets and marking crosses all over football-pool forms. They never read a book other than perhaps a thriller or a romance, because they lack imagination and curiosity.

★

WE have wandered a long way, not unprofitably, we hope, from our intended subject. Our opening sentence: "A society in which there were no problems would hardly be human in the most positive sense of that word", was to have been a qualifying remark to a brief survey of the "crises" which are at various stages of eruption all over the face of the world to-day. It was our intention to distinguish between these crises and the problems that will always exist in even the freest society. That whereas the problems

of such a society are positive in the sense, hence would be a clear force in society, a proof of the real sense of community kind, the crises of the manifestations of the class divided nation there is no lasting the existing social framework. From of humanity such crises, hardship, and out any positive advantage.

Cyprus, the Middle East, Algiers are purely political crises in which movements are no products. And the present sweeping to stabilize the economy between employers but leave untouched of disunity: the present the unequal social between men and men

That most people *Angst* at the thought of the charted spaces of but go on accepting the womb to the torrid, ridden, class-dominated society of to-day with *this* is a subject which all the attention of progressive education to make headway in the chains" but their possible with their parents but if necessary in society

As propagandists about this task?

BOOK REVIEW

N ABSENCE OF PURPOSE

AND THE
E.N. Congress
hinson, 15s.).

congresses do so
asons. There are
elf-interest, others
ous or fulfilling
ng an unsociable
e purpose of the

ses of writers are
umber of middle-
different fashions
dies famous for
gins—male and
works examine in-
onships, foreigners
ge of the one or
sed, and very im-
names are down
elegrams of good
the first morning.
ance of politeness
to pass plates of

congresses are of
is naturally fos-
part, particularly
e conference hall,
usually be shown
one way or an-
mitted to a resolu-
the next congress.
ernational P.E.N.
London and an
than usual signi-
with the publica-
ches.

ongress was The
ic—Problems of
as the report
into sections on
ue of the New
Media, Contem-
tion, and so on.
e is immediately
ge of such a step.
re prepared as
elied on a looser,
h which cannot
A play is not the
d there is always
out the assembly

er, and as was
the report reveals
een professionals
essional—to de-
is aware of his
them, is usually
y sense, is essen-
at congresses of
sciously on the
of this came in
nt of the theme,
ssion—"I believe

that the writer should go after his audi-
ence wherever that audience may be.
That he or she should try not to limit
his or her work to the printed word.
And, 'Therefore, if we think of ourselves
not simply as exponents of the printed
word, but as creators, as makers, as in-
ventors; as belonging to one of those
eternal types I mentioned earlier, we
should go for the audience wherever it
may be found and try to learn those new
techniques demanded by the new media.'

This attack on literature and literary
values was followed by Mr. Priestley's
immediate departure from the conference
hall, and he was not seen again.



THE amateurs—to return to definition
and therefore the more militant, are
those still involved in a struggle with
their chosen medium, make fewer con-
cessions to their public, have not forgot-
ten their earlier idealism and, as Angus
Wilson said: 'The value of the creative
writer lies in the intensity and individual-
ity of his personal vision . . . To keep
his vision alive, then, the writer, by what-
ever peculiar and personal pattern he
chooses, must be an involved person.
This is the first and absolute necessity.'

A second division that was apparent
concerned the impact of television,

whether it had achieved respectability and
so deserved a writer's full-time devotion
or whether it was alien to literary creat-
ivity. A few writers had clearly, and
profitably, come to terms with the new
medium, many revealed that they were
weakening to temptation, a number of
die-hards resolutely echoed Denis Saurat:
'There is a public lying in wait for good
things and that is the real public. I
estimated that as two to three thousand,
both in France and in England . . . I
submit that that is the real element of
lasting value in the public which we
have to reach.'

Elmer Rice fairly summarized the
situation with American directness: 'We
are witnessing a phenomenon which is
entirely new, and which I have called
the industrialisation of the writer. In
other words, where formerly the writer
was a creative individual who thought
up his poems or his play or his novel
or his essay, whatever it may have been,
and then found a theatre manager, or a
publisher, or an editor, we now have an
almost complete reversal of the process.
We have a great industry set up which is
basically technological, whose basis is not
creativity but gimmicks and technologi-
cal gadgets that make it possible for
this universal distribution of material . . .
the writer is a cog in a vast industrial

machine and his status is closely related
to that of the other technicians, the
camera-man, the scene-shifter and so on'.



THE most interesting section of the
book, however, deals with criticism
and includes the speeches of Mario Praz,
V. S. Pritchett, William Empson and
Peter Green. Here there is—not surpris-
ingly—a tendency to excuse their vocation
and purpose, and an examination of
elementary principles. However, it was
Robert Henriques, on the same subject,
who really overcame his inhibitions and
said: 'In England the critic is the literary
man, and the critic's world is the literary
world of this metropolis. At the literary
cocktail party in London you will find
there everyone concerned with the pro-
duction and distribution of books except
the man who writes them. The writers
who will normally be there are those who
are also critics, and the only critics who
are likely to be absent are those who are
at another party or whose interests are
primarily in other kinds of writing.'

Although one should not condemn
publication of this report—an attempt to
give immortality to the congress—one
is at once conscious of its lack of auth-
ority and stature. This is the collected
wisdom of many contemporary writers,
this is where they stand, these are their
ideals, this is their approach to their
craft . . . And what is revealed is an
affable mediocrity, an absence of passion
and purpose, and the creative segment of
something like the corporate soul of a
fairly self-satisfied and prosperous
society.
C.H.

Guild Socialism Re-stated

Continued from p. 2

of managerial prerogatives, although the
organised workers may on occasions
exert some influence on decisions in this
sphere.

In outlining his proposals, Cole draws
a distinction between lower management,
on the one hand, and higher and techni-
cal management, on the other. The
function of the former is primarily super-
vision of workers at the point of
production, the management of men in
face-to-face groups. The function of the
latter is primarily the administration of
things—the co-ordination of all the fac-
tors of production, the planning and
execution of the processes of production
and marketing, and so on—not involving
direct contact with rank-and-file workers.

The status of partnership implies that
rank-and-file workers must be allowed a
share in deciding under whose orders and
supervision their daily work is done.
Foremen and supervisors, therefore,
should normally be elected by the groups
they work with and removable by them,
with the proviso that, where necessary,
the choice in election should be limited

to properly qualified candidates. "This
choice of supervisors by the working
group would deeply affect the character
of the group itself by converting it into
a team working under its own leaders and
not under an externally imposed disci-
pline." This change, moreover, could
lead to further important changes in the
relation of the working groups to the
establishment as a whole. Where such
a group was carrying out, co-operatively,
a definite, identifiable task, instead of
being paid individually the group could
enter into a collective contract with the
management. In return for a lump sum
sufficient to cover at least the minimum
trade union rate for each individual, the
group would undertake to perform a
specified amount of work, with the group
itself allocating the various tasks among
its members and arranging working con-
ditions to suit its own convenience. Such
an arrangement, which has long been
advocated by Hyacinthe Dubreuil and
adopted in a number of French factories,
would have the effect of "linking the
members of the working group together

in a common enterprise under their joint
auspices and control, and emancipating
them from an externally imposed disci-
pline in respect of their method of getting
the work done."

The method of election from below,
however, would not, argues Cole, be
suitable for higher management or posts
of a technical or administrative character.
"Administration and management are
special techniques or accomplishments,
calling for special qualifications and
forms of expertise; and so is the direction
of industrial policy in such matters as
investment and the planning of produc-
tive methods." For the performance of
such tasks, therefore, men would have to
be selected individually by persons or
committees with an adequate understand-
ing of what is needed.

In providing for selection rather than
election of higher management, Cole is
retreating somewhat from the early Guild
Socialist position which, broadly speak-
ing, envisaged the direct or indirect elec-
tion of all managers by the workers
themselves. It is not a retreat, however,
which concedes any substantial point to
the opponents of industrial democracy—
provided that the arrangements for lower
management and the institution of the
collective contract system are carried out.
The general effect of Cole's proposals
would, in fact, be to destroy the hierar-
chical chain of authority that exists at
present in most industrial organisations
and to replace it by a system of func-
tional and

life, "I owe more than to any man
living or dead":

Long ere Carlyle, or Emerson, or Whit-
man, or Morris had come into my ken,
and ere their message would have any
meaning to me even had I access to their
writings, I had imbibed the liberty-loving

of such a society are productive and
positive in the sense that their exist-
ence would be a clear sign of a life-
force in society, and their solution
proof of the reasonableness and
sense of community uniting man-
kind; the crises of to-day are simply

much in it that
or of which we

But do not the
all studies lie in
en up to us new
s, not yet under-
proceed farther
stration of what

national P.E.N. London and an than usual signi- with the publica- ches.

ongress was The ic—Problems of as the report into sections on ue of the New Media, Contem- action, and so on. e is immediately ge of such a step. re prepared as elied on a looser, ch which cannot A play is not the d there is always out the assembly

and as was the report reveals en professionals essional—to de- is aware of his e them, is usually y sense, is essen- at congresses of sciously on the of this came in ent of the theme, ussion—I believe

much in it that or of which we But do not the all studies lie in pen up to us new as, not yet under- o proceed farther etration of what ly in vague out- Glasovsky had an only grew with

other hand did At the age of t to work as a got a job heat- w shipyard and ars old he was rom six in the st five at night. e had to work Yet such was ledge that he ead and write. ys Hughes, des- ese terms*:

patiently, the d to read and rned to spell by ut picture books n Glasgow. His to read but he ould write. night school in afterwards began ractising writing moments in the from his miner's pare money on ately anxious to

ans to an end. the poetry of wrote in later Hughes, (Allen &

Guild Socialism Re-stated

Continued from p. 2

of managerial prerogatives, although the organised workers may on occasions exert some influence on decisions in this sphere.

In outlining his proposals, Cole draws a distinction between lower management, on the one hand, and higher and technical management, on the other. The function of the former is primarily supervision of workers at the point of production, the management of men in face-to-face groups. The function of the latter is primarily the administration of things—the co-ordination of all the factors of production, the planning and execution of the processes of production and marketing, and so on—not involving direct contact with rank-and-file workers.

The status of partnership implies that rank-and-file workers must be allowed a share in deciding under whose orders and supervision their daily work is done. Foremen and supervisors, therefore, should normally be elected by the groups they work with and removable by them, with the proviso that, where necessary, the choice in election should be limited

to properly qualified candidates. "This choice of supervisors by the working group would deeply affect the character of the group itself by converting it into a team working under its own leaders and not under an externally imposed discipline." This change, moreover, could lead to further important changes in the relation of the working groups to the establishment as a whole. Where such a group was carrying out, co-operatively, a definite, identifiable task, instead of being paid individually the group could enter into a collective contract with the management. In return for a lump sum sufficient to cover at least the minimum trade union rate for each individual, the group would undertake to perform a specified amount of work, with the group itself allocating the various tasks among its members and arranging working conditions to suit its own convenience. Such an arrangement, which has long been advocated by Hyacinthe Dubreuil and adopted in a number of French factories, would have the effect of "linking the members of the working group together

in a common enterprise under their joint auspices and control, and emancipating them from an externally imposed discipline in respect of their method of getting the work done."

The method of election from below, however, would not, argues Cole, be suitable for higher management or posts of a technical or administrative character. "Administration and management are special techniques or accomplishments, calling for special qualifications and forms of expertise; and so is the direction of industrial policy in such matters as investment and the planning of productive methods." For the performance of such tasks, therefore, men would have to be selected individually by persons or committees with an adequate understanding of what is needed.

In providing for selection rather than election of higher management, Cole is retreating somewhat from the early Guild Socialist position which, broadly speaking, envisaged the direct or indirect election of all managers by the workers themselves. It is not a retreat, however, which concedes any substantial point to the opponents of industrial democracy—provided that the arrangements for lower management and the institution of the collective contract system are carried out. The general effect of Cole's proposals would, in fact, be to destroy the hierarchical chain of authority that exists at present in most industrial organisations and to replace it by a system of functional and co-operative groups. 'Management' (at least higher management) would still be distinct from 'men' but the relationship between them would not be that of 'two sides' or one of superordination and subordination. The master-servant relationship inherent in the wage-system would have been destroyed.

Although in his positive proposals for the application of democracy to industry Cole says little that is new, his book provides the clearest statement to date of the case for workers' control in a form which could conceivably be adopted in the foreseeable future. (Incidentally, perhaps for tactical reasons, Cole studiously avoids the term 'workers' control'.) From the anarchist point of view, it should be said that Cole remains a parliamentarian: the old Guild Socialist veiled hostility to political action finds no echo in this book. The new status of partnership he sees, apparently, as a possible plank in the programme of a future Labour Government, although he recognises the need for trade unions to enlarge the scope of existing collective bargaining agreements. Anarcho-syndicalists will no doubt find much to object to on this score but, if so, it is up to them to state their objections cogently in the light of Cole's arguments. *The Case for Industrial Partnership* may well stimulate a new debate on the subject of industrial democracy, a debate which may lead to concrete action in the near future. If it does, there will be an opportunity for the anarchist voice to be heard once again in the Labour Movement. Those who value industrial freedom cannot afford to allow such an opportunity to slip.

GEOFFREY OSTERGAARD,

life, "I owe more than to any man living or dead":

Long ere Carlyle, or Emerson, or Whitman, or Morris had come into my ken, and ere their message would have any meaning to me even had I access to their writings, I had imbibed the liberty-loving spirit and humanitarianism of Burns.

He expressed for me as a boy my better self and gave form and substance to my half-formed thoughts and vague feelings.

Most people in this country and America can read and write. That they are happier or intellectually richer than say the people of Spain and Italy, where there is much illiteracy, is difficult to state categorically. So many people are literate only because schooling is compulsory but the use of their literacy does not in fact go beyond reading the headlines of the national press, filling in time-sheets and marking crosses all over football-pool forms. They never read a book other than perhaps a thriller or a romance, because they lack imagination and curiosity.

★

WE have wandered a long way, not unprofitably, we hope, from our intended subject. Our opening sentence: "A society in which there were no problems would hardly be human in the most positive sense of that word", was to have been a qualifying remark to a brief survey of the "crises" which are at various stages of eruption all over the face of the world to-day. It was our intention to distinguish between these crises and the problems that will always exist in even the freest society. That whereas the problems

of such a society are productive and positive in the sense that their existence would be a clear sign of a life-force in society, and their solution proof of the reasonableness and sense of community uniting mankind; the crises of to-day are simply manifestations of power politics and class divided nations, for which there is no lasting solution within the existing social and economic framework. From the point of view of humanity such crises bring suffering, hardship, and even death without any positive advantage.

Cyprus, the Middle East and Algiers are purely political or economic crises in which the nationalist movements are no more than by-products. And the wage strikes at present sweeping Britain seek to stabilize the economic relationship between employers and employees but leave untouched the basic causes of disunity: the profit system and the unequal social relationships between men and men.

That most people suffer from *Angst* at the thought of the uncharted spaces of the free society but go on accepting insecurity from the womb to the tomb in this power-ridden, class-dominated money society of to-day with hardly a protest, *this* is a subject which should engage all the attention of anarchists and progressive educationists. If we are to make headway it is not the workers we must seek to "free from their chains" but their children, if possible with their parents' co-operation, but if necessary in spite of them!

As propagandists how do we set about this task?

RICHARD HOGGART'S evocation of traditional working-class attitudes and his diatribe against the commercial purveyors of popular reading-matter,* are both in themselves detailed and perceptive. The thesis that the one is responsible for a decline in the quality of the other is not quite so convincing. The pressure to conformism and unresponsiveness which he attributes to popular journalism, is primarily a product of more deeply rooted social forces, the discussion of which is outside the scope which he has set for himself in his book.

Some of his most valuable pages concern the social role of the 'earnest majority', the kind of people who in an earlier period would be the leaders in movements for social betterment. The greatest need now, he says, "is for the minority to re-assess the position, to realise that the ideas for which their predecessors worked are in danger of being lost, that material improvements can be used so as to incline the body of working-people to accept a mean form of materialism as a social philosophy". The task of the old 'élite' was to bring together individuals into mass movements, the task of the present is to draw out the individuality of the components of the mass:

"It is easier for a few to improve the material conditions of many than for a few to waken a great many from the hypnosis of immature emotional satisfactions. People in this situation have somehow to be taught to help themselves".

In discussing the 'earnest minority', Mr Hoggart describes at some length the kind of people whom Arthur Koestler characterised during the last war as 'thoughtful corporals'. They may be grammar-school scholarship winners, brought up in one world but segregated into another through their brains by the tripartite educational system, or they may be those "who have talent sufficient to separate them from the majority of their working-class contemporaries, but not to go much farther". They are to be found in every kind of work from manual labour to teaching. It is in the ranks of the unclassified 'thoughtful corporals' that, Mr. Hoggart hints, he belongs, and it is among them, I suspect, that we belong—the readers and writers of this newspaper. His description of one prevalent type is rather pathetic:

"Some have a precarious tenancy in several near-intellectual worlds. If so, they are likely to believe in 'freedom' and

**The Uses of Literacy* by Richard Hoggart (Chatto and Windus, 25s.), discussed in last week's FREEDOM.

to be 'anti-authoritarian'; they will have heard of the National Council for Civil Liberties and will read the *New Statesman and Nation*. They will know the anti-Munnings arguments for modern art, particularly for Picasso. They will know the arguments about the debasing effect of the popular Press and the corruption of advertisements. They will find some pleasure in that kind of analysis, a pleasure which can easily become a sort of masochistic nihilism . . . They will feel that they share something of the 'waste land', of the *Angst*, of the intellectuals; but will really be in a waste land of their own. In any case, they will overestimate the satisfaction of intellectuals.

"A very few acquire a bright finish and practise 'opinionation' which . . . is a slightly more intellectual form of 'fragmentation'. In 'opinionation' they can enjoy the crackle of mainly borrowed ideas, can try to have at call a view on anything—on the H-bomb, on 'woman's place', on modern art, on British agriculture, on capital punishment, on the 'population problem' . . . We are familiar with the way in which this can become a mental promiscuity; and the situation of those who long for this kind of expertise, but have a poor background and inadequate training in handling ideas or response to imaginative work, is particularly unfortunate . . ."

It sounds very sad, but daily experience confirms its truth, and the worst thing about it is the sapping of the will to act:

"They 'want to do something about things' but feel frustrated—by the variety and magnitude of the problems they discern crouched all round them; by a sense that, though they appear to be expected to be knowledgeable about so much, to have views on so many things like good democratic citizens, there is really nothing they can effectively do to solve any of the problems . . . They are made insecure by the multitude of contradictory voices, each well-informed, sure and persuasive; the voices which say, 'Ah, but it all depends . . .', or 'These are only statistics, and you can't trust statistics', or 'This is only emotive language'. They are intimidated by the extreme difficulty of deciding just what is morally the right thing to do. Worst of all, their confidence is undermined by a lurking fear of the meaninglessness of those basic questions in themselves (is this good? is this right?), which yet they find themselves unable to cease from asking."



THE tragedy of this pervasive indecisiveness is that it reduces potentially

PEOPLE AND IDEAS

The Thoughtful Corporals

lovely and active people to the general level of 'obediently receptive passivity'. They might just as well not have started to think at all. And it is by no means, as one might gather from Mr. Hoggart's context confined to the 'thoughtful corporal' level of the educated. Look at the bemused products of the universities! It isn't really so much a matter of lack of education, or of native intelligence, but of lack of belief. *Not*, as Mr. Hoggart seems to imply, of religious belief, but of belief in the value of human activity, in our ability to change our society. People 'want to do something about things', but feel vaguely that to do something about a particular *thing*, somehow limits them, somehow makes them ridiculous, because of its smallness in the great sea of things that something ought to be done about. That is why, to take a current example, there has been a faintly derisive note about the press comments in the last few weeks on the activities of Mr. Needs, the suburban primary school teacher who wants to do something to assure the continuance of the Third Programme.

Enthusiasm is suspect, commitment is suspect, activity is suspect. We observe, we are troubled, but we are not engaged. Meanwhile the big battalions, the purveyors of prolefeed on the one hand, and the whole apparatus of the 'establishment' on the other, have the field to themselves. The thoughtful corporals have been demobbed and their place has been taken by rebels without a cause, angry young men, revelling in what Mr. Hoggart called 'masochistic nihilism', and even by the Outsider, groping for a new religion—as if there weren't enough already. The very phrase 'thoughtful corporals' belongs to the forties, and brings memories of discussion groups, Forces parliaments, ENSA and CEMA, and the wartime boom in the arts. It is worth quoting, from another recent book (Mr. Jack

Lindsay's *After the* tion of this phenom

"The Old Vic, but took Shakespeare and got a tremendous company was land, playing if need green, or in the popular pressure the courage of M which had been set with unemployment musicians, expanded wild pace and four would satisfy the deeply serious mo some 4,449 concert in factories; and increasing. Fifteen held in one area. concerts," wrote the "was the finest of w What is going on factories had begun popularising moven shameful thing is th to start it' . . . Sam formed in shelters; appeared in Corr Wells and other to the people; an sidered an élite enj gained a keen n groups sprang up did bands, choirs, sion groups . . . Tyneside the activ ber. Civil Defen painting in a big building their own

Mr. Lindsay is a bit of half-forgotten other purposes, an course was considerable effort', but his desed. I remember at a Sadlers Wells Victoria Park, Ha those 1953 Byrd I. It doesn't sound li sea of undifferenti mass audience, no lectuals with their imaginative wor changed so much years?

Family Planning

When he was told by the North London magistrate, Mr. Frank Milton, that it was costing the public authorities £3,000 a year to keep his nine children, Mr. Reginald Robert Deigan of High-bury replied: "They will probably get it all back when the children grow up and pay taxes."

CINEMA

Vincente's Vincent

LUST FOR LIFE is a strange title for a film about Vincent van Gogh, and I hope that nobody will be put off by it. I suppose box-office appeal must override mere considerations of what is becoming. At any rate, *Lust for Life* it is, and you can see it at the Curzon Cinema.

Van Gogh is played by Kirk Douglas, who manages to achieve a visual resemblance to the painter that is quite extraordinary, and he gives in this film the best performance of his career. He is a fine actor, but some of the credit must

faithfulness, and what dramatic licence there is should outrage nobody. It begins in Amsterdam with the artist's failure to secure appointment as a clergyman in some Protestant sect. He lacks the slickness required of those who enter the ranks of the professional Christians, but his earnestness and sincerity impress even the hardened theology professors, and he is sent to preach to the miners in the Borinage. This is a task the regulars have no stomach for—and with good reason, for it is a black, squalid, poverty-stricken region. Here van Gogh finds

Here we see the drawbridge, the Zouave, the sunflowers, and above all the cornfields ablaze under the Mediterranean sun. The original scenes have been lovingly photographed, and we can see them and compare them with the painting on the easel.

Van Gogh spent a year at Arles. It was his best period. He worked all day, pouring all his energy into the most emotional pictures that have ever been painted. But it was a lonely life until Gauguin arrived to share his house. Can there ever have been such a strange

WHAT has happened? tensification all of them inher mass society. On of social purpose which, in such a drummed up for others is the lack dustrial responsible for a bigger share dustry, but not for the misplaced faith the thoughtful co in the Labour P gone beyond their more fruitful field another—in the p Mr. Lindsay was centralisation of c tical life: the *ad* beginnings he de the Arts Council greater proportion don, to the detri (see its tenth annu October).

It all adds up

terised during the last war as 'thoughtful corporals'. They may be grammar-school scholarship winners, brought up in one world but segregated into another through their brains by the tripartite educational system, or they may be those "who have talent sufficient to separate them from the majority of their working-class contemporaries, but not to go much farther". They are to be found in every kind of work from manual labour to teaching. It is in the ranks of the unclassified 'thoughtful corporals' that, Mr. Hoggart hints, he belongs, and it is among them, I suspect, that we belong—the readers and writers of this newspaper. His description of one prevalent type is rather pathetic:

"Some have a precarious tenancy in several near-intellectual worlds. If so, they are likely to believe in 'freedom' and

The Uses of Literacy* by Richard Hoggart (Chatto and Windus, 25s.), discussed in last week's **FREEDOM.

things' but feel frustrated—by the variety and magnitude of the problems they discern crouched all round them; by a sense that, though they appear to be expected to be knowledgeable about so much, to have views on so many things like good democratic citizens, there is really nothing they can effectively do to solve any of the problems . . . They are made insecure by the multitude of contradictory voices, each well-informed, sure and persuasive; the voices which say, 'Ah, but it all depends . . .', or 'These are only statistics, and you can't trust statistics', or 'This is only emotive language'. They are intimidated by the extreme difficulty of deciding just what is morally the right thing to do. Worst of all, their confidence is undermined by a lurking fear of the meaninglessness of those basic questions in themselves (is this good? is this right?), which yet they find themselves unable to cease from asking."

★

THE tragedy of this pervasive indecisiveness is that it reduces potentially

The thoughtful corporals have been mobbed and their place has been taken by rebels without a cause, angry young men, revelling in what Mr. Hoggart called 'masochistic nihilism', and even by the Outsider, groping for a new religion—as if there weren't enough already. The very phrase 'thoughtful corporals' belongs to the forties, and brings memories of discussion groups, Forces parliaments, ENSA and CEMA, and the wartime boom in the arts. It is worth quoting, from another recent book (Mr. Jack

Family Planning

When he was told by the North London magistrate, Mr. Frank Milton, that it was costing the public authorities £3,000 a year to keep his nine children, Mr. Reginald Robert Deigan of Highbury replied: "They will probably get it all back when the children grow up and pay taxes."

Mr. Lindsay is a bit of half-forgotten other purposes, and course was considerable effort', but his desecrated. I remember at a Sadlers Wells Victoria Park, Ha those 1953 Byrd. It doesn't sound like sea of undifferentiated mass audience, no lecturals with their imaginative work changed so much years?

WHAT has happened? tensification all of them inheriting mass society. One of social purpose which, in such a drummed up for others is the lack of industrial responsibility for a bigger share of industry, but not for the misplaced faith in the thoughtful corporals in the Labour Party gone beyond their more fruitful field another—in the party. Mr. Lindsay was a centralisation of cultural life: the *ad hoc* beginnings he developed in the Arts Council greater proportion of the total, to the detriment (see its tenth annual report, October).

It all adds up to where nothing is real, and more nourishing with the Joneses with the Koestlers tried about it you

CORRESPONDENCE

DEAR COMRADES,
There is one no and Treblethink "Atlantian cree the *Athanasian* Bishop Athanasius churches.

PROGRESS WEEK 12

Deficit on Free Contributions
DEFICIT
March 22
Bourne End: C.H. £1/15/3; Bakewell W.E.D.* 10/-; Is H.S. 3/9; London: 5/-; London: Hyde El Monte: Family £16/9/0; Coventry R.F. 2/6.

Previously acknowledged

1957 TOTAL

GIFTS OF BOOKS H.S.

CINEMA

Vincente's Vincent

LUST FOR LIFE is a strange title for a film about Vincent van Gogh, and I hope that nobody will be put off by it. I suppose box-office appeal must override mere considerations of what is becoming. At any rate, *Lust for Life* it is, and you can see it at the Curzon Cinema.

Van Gogh is played by Kirk Douglas, who manages to achieve a visual resemblance to the painter that is quite extraordinary, and he gives in this film the best performance of his career. He is a fine actor, but some of the credit must go to Vincente Minelli, better known as a director of musicals, who handles a difficult subject with great feeling and sensibility.

The film is in Cinemascope and Metrocolor, a new process with indiosyncracies of its own, the most pleasant of which is its ability to yield remarkable charcoal grays.

Lust for Life reproduces the real-life events in van Gogh's career with great

faithfulness, and what dramatic licence there is should outrage nobody. It begins in Amsterdam with the artist's failure to secure appointment as a clergyman in some Protestant sect. He lacks the slickness required of those who enter the ranks of the professional Christians, but his earnestness and sincerity impress even the hardened theology professors, and he is sent to preach to the miners in the Borinage. This is a task the regulars have no stomach for—and with good reason, for it is a black, squalid, poverty-stricken region. Here van Gogh finds that the only way to win the people's respect is to share their wretched existence. He goes down the mine where he sees eleven-year-old children hauling tubs of coal. Before long those children are dead in a mining disaster. But voluntary poverty has no attractions for the elders of the church. They think a preacher should wear fine clothes and live in style so that his flock will look up to him. When they come on a tour of inspection van Gogh finds himself in disgrace.

So he returns to his father's home at Nuenen. But his father disapproves of his drawing and still more of his outspokenness. A clergyman does not like to be told: "My God is not the God of the clergymen; he's as dead as a door-nail"—especially by his own son.

After the unfortunate one-sided love affair with his cousin Kay, van Gogh goes to the Hague, where his cousin Mauve gives him both help and advice. Here he begins to paint, living with Anna (Pamela Brown), a prostitute who was the only woman to give him the love he craved all his life. But artists are difficult to live with, and Anna leaves him.

After his father's death he goes back to his family at Neunen, painting in the fields and scandalizing the neighbours.

Then on to Paris, where his brother Theo is employed by a private gallery. Here he meets the impressionists: Pissarro, Degas, Seurat, Toulouse-Lautrec, Gauguin. He sees their work and listens to their theories. It is an exciting period for artists, with a new world of light and colour to explore. But artists are difficult to live with; the brothers quarrel, and Vincent goes to Arles.

Here we see the drawbridge, the Zouave, the sunflowers, and above all the cornfields ablaze under the Mediterranean sun. The original scenes have been lovingly photographed, and we can see them and compare them with the painting on the easel.

Van Gogh spent a year at Arles. It was his best period. He worked all day, pouring all his energy into the most emotional pictures that have ever been painted. But it was a lonely life until Gauguin arrived to share his house. Can there ever have been such a strange friendship as this? Van Gogh was a passionate man, putting on to his canvases the emotions he could not release into the world around him: Gauguin was a cold abstractionist, neat and tidy and methodical. Van Gogh was a gentle man, who wanted only love and affection; Gauguin liked violence and said that it would split his teeth to say "I love you". Van Gogh hated loneliness; Gauguin was a lone wolf who could do without anybody.

Artists are difficult to live with, even for other artists. It was not long before the inevitable quarrel arose; but this quarrel was more serious and ended with van Gogh's cutting off his own ear. For me, at any rate, this is a scene that turns science-fiction horror films into light comedies.

The end is not far away now. First to the mental hospital at Saint-Rémy, then into the care of Dr. Gachet at Auvers-sur-Oise, van Gogh is slowly engulfed by his madness. At last the revolver shot ends his misery.

By commercial standards van Gogh's life was a complete failure. Although his relatives had good connexions in the art world he sold only one picture during his life. By any standards his life was pretty wretched. His last words (in real life), "There'll never be an end to human misery", sound like an echo of that other lonely sparrow, Leopardi.

We enjoy their works, but I imagine most of us regard the price as a little high and say that we would forego the masterpieces if only their creators could have been happy. It is a worthy thought; but perhaps it is as well that the choice is not ours to make.

E.P.

SELECTIONS from **FREEDOM** VOLUMES 1 - 5

Vol. 1, 1951, *Mankind is One*
Vol. 2, 1952, *Postscript to Posterity*
Vol. 3, 1953, *Colonialism on Trial*
Vol. 4, 1954, *Living on a Volcano*
Vol. 5, 1955, *The Immoral Moralists*
each volume paper 7s. 6d.
cloth 10s. 6d.

The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of **FREEDOM** at 5/- a copy

at

FIVE SHILLINGS

each volume

(The complete set is offered at the Special Price of £1 post free)

ORDER NOW!

PEOPLE AND IDEAS

The Thoughtful Corporals

an'; they will have
l Council for Civil
ad the *New States-*
they will know the
ents for modern art,
so. They will know
the debasing effect
and the corruption
they will find some
of analysis, a plea-
become a sort of
... They will feel
thing of the 'waste
of the intellectuals;
waste land of their
they will overestimate
lectuals.

... a bright finish and
... which ... is a
tual form of 'frag-
mentation' they can
f mainly borrowed
e at call a view on
bomb, on 'woman's
... on British agricul-
ment, on the 'popu-
... We are familiar
ch this can become
; and the situation
r this kind of exper-
background and
n handling ideas or
ve work, is particu-

... but daily experience
and the worst thing
ing of the will to

... something about
ated—by the variety
e problems they dis-
them; by a sense
pear to be expected
about so much, to
ny things like good
ere is really nothing
do to solve any of
ey are made insecure
contradictory voices,
sure and persuasive;
'Ah, but it all de-
se are only statistics,
statistics', or 'This is
e'. They are intimi-
difficulty of deciding
the right thing to do.
confidence is under-
ear of the meaning-
c questions in them-
? is this right?),
hemselves unable to

... this pervasive indeci-
t reduces potentially

CEMA

s Vincent

at dramatic licence
e nobody. It begins
the artist's failure to
as a clergyman in
He lacks the slick-
ose who enter the
onal Christians, but
ncerity impress even
y professors, and he
the miners in the
a task the regulars
or—and with good
ck, squalid, poverty-
e van Gogh finds

lovely and active people to the general level of 'obediently receptive passivity'. They might just as well not have started to think at all. And it is by no means, as one might gather from Mr. Hoggart's context confined to the 'thoughtful corporal' level of the educated. Look at the bemused products of the universities! It isn't really so much a matter of lack of education, or of native intelligence, but of lack of belief. *Not*, as Mr. Hoggart seems to imply, of religious belief, but of belief in the value of human activity, in our ability to change our society. People 'want to do something about things', but feel vaguely that to do something about a particular *thing*, somehow limits them, somehow makes them ridiculous, because of its smallness in the great sea of things that something ought to be done about. That is why, to take a current example, there has been a faintly derisive note about the press comments in the last few weeks on the activities of Mr. Needs, the suburban primary school teacher who wants to do something to assure the continuance of the Third Programme.

Enthusiasm is suspect, commitment is suspect, activity is suspect. We observe, we are troubled, but we are not engaged. Meanwhile the big battalions, the purveyors of prolefeed on the one hand, and the whole apparatus of the 'establishment' on the other, have the field to themselves. The thoughtful corporals have been demobbed and their place has been taken by rebels without a cause, angry young men, revelling in what Mr. Hoggart called 'masochistic nihilism', and even by the Outsider, groping for a new religion—as if there weren't enough already. The very phrase 'thoughtful corporals' belongs to the forties, and brings memories of discussion groups, Forces parliaments, ENSA and CEMA, and the wartime boom in the arts. It is worth quoting, from another recent book (Mr. Jack

Family Planning

When he was told by the North London magistrate, Mr. Frank Milton, that it was costing the public authorities £3,000 a year to keep his nine children, Mr. Reginald Robert Deigan of Highbury replied: "They will probably get it all back when the children grow up and pay taxes."

Here we see the drawbridge, the Zouave, the sunflowers, and above all the cornfields ablaze under the Mediterranean sun. The original scenes have been lovingly photographed, and we can see them and compare them with the painting on the easel.

Van Gogh spent a year at Arles. It was his best period. He worked all day, pouring all his energy into the most emotional pictures that have ever been painted. But it was a lonely life until Gauguin arrived to share his house. Can there ever have been such a strange

Lindsay's *After the Thirties*), a description of this phenomenon:

"The Old Vic, bombed out of London, took Shakespeare to the industrial areas and got a tremendous response. Traveling companies wandered all over England, playing if necessary on the village green, or in the church. Under the popular pressure the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, which had been set up vaguely to deal with unemployment among actors and musicians, expanded its activities at a wild pace and found that only the best would satisfy the people in their new deeply serious mood. In 1943 it gave some 4,449 concerts of which half were in factories; and the demand went on increasing. Fifteen Byrd festivals were held in one area. 'All the music at these concerts,' wrote the critic Scott Goddard, 'was the finest of what we call the classics. What is going on to-day in camps and factories had begun one of the great popularising movements of our time. The shameful thing is that it has taken a war to start it' ... *Samson Agonistes* was performed in shelters; ancient Greek drama appeared in Cornish villages. Sadlers Wells and other companies took ballet to the people; and this art-form, considered an élite enjoyment before the war, gained a keen mass-audience. Ballet-groups sprang up in the factories. So did bands, choirs, drama groups, discussion groups ... in areas such as the Tyneside the activities were hard to number. Civil Defence personnel took up painting in a big way. Co-ops started building their own theatres."

Mr. Lindsay is a Marxist, and cites this bit of half-forgotten social history for other purposes, and the whole thing of course was considered as part of the 'war-effort', but his description is not exaggerated. I remember the crowded audience at a Sadlers Wells ballet performance in Victoria Park, Hackney, and at one of those 1953 Byrd Festivals in Blackburn. It doesn't sound like Mr. Hoggart's "great sea of undifferentiated porridge" for the mass audience, nor of his would-be intellectuals with their lack of "response to imaginative work". Has everything changed so much in less than fifteen years?

★

WHAT has happened has been an intensification of existing tendencies, all of them inherent in our centralised mass society. One is the lack of a sense of social purpose and social cohesion, which, in such a society can only be drummed up for the needs of war, another is the lack of a demand for industrial responsibility—we have demands for a bigger share of the proceeds of industry, but not for its control; another is the misplaced faith in political action—the thoughtful corporals put their faith in the Labour Party and have not yet gone beyond their disillusionment to seek more fruitful fields for social action; and another—in the particular field of which Mr. Lindsay was writing, is the increased centralisation of cultural as well as political life: the *ad hoc* body CEMA, whose beginnings he described, hardened into the Arts Council which spends an ever greater proportion of its budget in London, to the detriment of the provinces (see its tenth annual report published last October).

It all adds up to the candy-floss world

tralised mass-society is historically inevitable—or (more potent and crushing reply), technologically inevitable. So you might as well shut your trap. But the irony is that it isn't inevitable. The very technological developments which, in the hands of people with statist, centralising, authoritarian habits of mind, can make robots of us all, are those which can make possible a local, intimate, decentralised society. When tractors were first made, they were giants suitable only for prairie-farming. Now you can get them scaled down to a size for cultivating your backyard. Power tools, which were going to make all industry one big Dagenham are now within the grasp of every do-it-yourself enthusiast. Atomic power, the latest argument of the centralisers, is to be used (characteristically) in a submarine—the most hermetically sealed human habitation ever devised.

We can turn the mass-society into a mass of societies. It really depends on the thoughtful corporals. C.W.

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

LECTURE-DISCUSSIONS

Every Sunday at 7.30 at
THE MALATESTA CLUB,
32 Percy Street,
Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

Questions, Discussion and Admission
all free.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting
HYDE PARK
Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET
(Charing X Road)
Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

★ Malatesta Club ★

SWARAJ HOUSE,
32 PERCY STREET,
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1.
(Tel.: MUSEum 7277).

ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.
London Anarchist Group Meetings
(see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
BONAR THOMPSON Speaks.

Every Friday and Saturday:
SOCIAL EVENINGS

FUND-RAISING PARTY

You are invited to a party
at the Malatesta Club
on SATURDAY APRIL 6,
7.30 — 11.30 p.m.
Aim: to augment the

problems they dis-
and them; by a sense
appear to be expected
about so much, to
any things like good
here is really nothing
do to solve any of
they are made insecure
contradictory voices,
sure and persuasive;
'Ah, but it all de-
se are only statistics,
statistics', or 'This is
e'. They are intimi-
difficulty of deciding
the right thing to do,
confidence is under-
fear of the meaning-
ic questions in them-
d? is this right?),
themselves unable to

this pervasive indeci-
it reduces potentially

CEMA s Vincent

that dramatic licence
ge nobody. It begins
the artist's failure to
as a clergyman in
He lacks the slick-
those who enter the
ional Christians, but
incerity impress even
y professors, and he
o the miners in the
a task the regulars
for—and with good
ack, squalid, poverty-
ere van Gogh finds
to win the people's
their wretched exist-
the mine where he
children hauling
e long those children
ining disaster. But
has no attractions for
urch. They think a
ar fine clothes and
t his flock will look
they come on a tour
ogh finds himself in

his father's home at
rather disapproves of
ill more of his out-
yman does not like
God is not the God
s as dead as a door-
his own son.
anate one-sided love
sin Kay, van Gogh
e, where his cousin
oth help and advice.
int, living with Anna
prostitute who was
give him the love he
But artists are diffi-
d Anna leaves him.
death he goes back
men, painting in the
ng the neighbours.
s, where his brother
by a private gallery.
the impressionists:
at, Toulouse-Lautrec,
their work and listens
is an exciting period
new world of light
ore. But artists are
; the brothers quar-
es to Arles.

mobbed and their place has been taken
by rebels without a cause, angry young
men, revelling in what Mr. Hoggart
called 'masochistic nihilism', and even by
the Outsider, groping for a new religion
—as if there weren't enough already.
The very phrase 'thoughtful corporals'
belongs to the forties, and brings mem-
ories of discussion groups, Forces parlia-
ments, ENSA and CEMA, and the war-
time boom in the arts. It is worth quot-
ing, from another recent book (Mr. Jack

Family Planning

When he was told by the North Lon-
don magistrate, Mr. Frank Milton, that
it was costing the public authorities
£3,000 a year to keep his nine children,
Mr. Reginald Robert Deigan of High-
bury replied: "They will probably get it
all back when the children grow up and
pay taxes."

Here we see the drawbridge, the Zouave,
the sunflowers, and above all the corn-
fields ablaze under the Mediterranean
sun. The original scenes have been
lovingly photographed, and we can see
them and compare them with the paint-
ing on the easel.

Van Gogh spent a year at Arles. It
was his best period. He worked all day,
pouring all his energy into the most
emotional pictures that have ever been
painted. But it was a lonely life until
Gauguin arrived to share his house. Can
there ever have been such a strange
friendship as this? Van Gogh was a
passionate man, putting on to his can-
vases the emotions he could not release
into the world around him: Gauguin was
a cold abstractionist, neat and tidy and
methodical. Van Gogh was a gentle
man, who wanted only love and affection;
Gauguin liked violence and said that it
would split his teeth to say "I love you".
Van Gogh hated loneliness; Gauguin was
a lone wolf who could do without any-
body.

Artists are difficult to live with, even
for other artists. It was not long before
the inevitable quarrel arose; but this
quarrel was more serious and ended with
van Gogh's cutting off his own ear. For
me, at any rate, this is a scene that turns
science-fiction horror films into light
comedies.

The end is not far away now. First
to the mental hospital at Saint-Rémy,
then into the care of Dr. Gachet at
Auvers-sur-Oise, van Gogh is slowly en-
gulfed by his madness. At last the
revolver shot ends his misery.

By commercial standards van Gogh's
life was a complete failure. Although
his relatives had good connexions in the
art world he sold only one picture during
his life. By any standards his life was
pretty wretched. His last words (in real
life), "There'll never be an end to human
misery", sound like an echo of that other
lonely sparrow, Leopardi.

We enjoy their works, but I imagine
most of us regard the price as a little
high and say that we would forego the
masterpieces if only their creators could
have been happy. It is a worthy thought;
but perhaps it is as well that the choice
is not ours to make. E.P.

Mr. Lindsay is a Marxist, and cites this
bit of half-forgotten social history for
other purposes, and the whole thing of
course was considered as part of the 'war-
effort', but his description is not exagger-
ated. I remember the crowded audience
at a Sadlers Wells ballet performance in
Victoria Park, Hackney, and at one of
those 1953 Byrd Festivals in Blackburn.
It doesn't sound like Mr. Hoggart's "great
sea of undifferentiated porridge" for the
mass audience, nor of his would-be intel-
lectuals with their lack of "response to
imaginative work". Has everything
changed so much in less than fifteen
years?

★

WHAT has happened has been an in-
tensification of existing tendencies,
all of them inherent in our centralised
mass society. One is the lack of a sense
of social purpose and social cohesion,
which, in such a society can only be
drummed up for the needs of war, an-
others is the lack of a demand for in-
dustrial responsibility—we have demands
for a bigger share of the proceeds of in-
dustry, but not for its control; another is
the misplaced faith in political action—
the thoughtful corporals put their faith
in the Labour Party and have not yet
gone beyond their disillusionment to seek
more fruitful fields for social action; and
another—in the particular field of which
Mr. Lindsay was writing, is the increased
centralisation of cultural as well as poli-
tical life: the *ad hoc* body CEMA, whose
beginnings he described, hardened into
the Arts Council which spends an ever
greater proportion of its budget in Lon-
don, to the detriment of the provinces
(see its tenth annual report published last
October).

It all adds up to the candy-floss world
where nothing is important because
nothing is real, and those who look for
more nourishing fare than keeping up
with the Joneses are trying to keep up
with the Koestlers. And if you get wor-
ried about it you are told that the cen-

CORRECTION

DEAR COMRADES,

There is one notable misprint in *Stirner*
and *Treblethink* (FREEDOM 12/3/57);
"Atlantian creed" refers of course to
the *Athanasian* creed, that written by
Bishop Athanasius and used in Catholic
churches. D.R.

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 12

Deficit on Freedom	£260
Contributions received	£242
DEFICIT	£18

March 22 to March 28

Bourne End: C.H. 3/-; Temple Ariz: A de T.
£1/15/3; Bakewell: D.M.* 5/-; London:
W.E.D.* 10/-; Israel: F.S. 1/-; London:
H.S. 3/9; London: J.S.* 3/-; London: J.A.
5/-; London: Hyde Park Sympathisers: 2/-;
El Monte: Family party at A.S. per B.P.
£16/9/0; Coventry: J.J. 6d.; Greenford:
R.F. 2/6.

Total	20 0 0
Previously acknowledged	222 9 7

1957 TOTAL TO DATE ... £242 9 7

GIFTS OF BOOKS: London: C.W., London:
H.S.

Questions, Discussion and Admission
all free.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Weather Permitting

HYDE PARK

Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

MANETTE STREET

(Charing X Road)

Saturdays at 5.30 p.m.

★ Malatesta Club ★

SWARAJ HOUSE,

32 PERCY STREET,

TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.1.

(Tel.: MUSEum 7277).

ACTIVITIES

Every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

London Anarchist Group Meetings
(see Announcements Column)

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

BONAR THOMPSON Speaks.

Every Friday and Saturday:

SOCIAL EVENINGS

FUND-RAISING PARTY

You are invited to a party
at the Malatesta Club

on SATURDAY APRIL 6,
7.30 — 11.30 p.m.

Aim: to augment the
FREEDOM PRESS FIRE FUND

Dancing ★ Entertainments ★ Raffles

Admission 2/6d.
inc. refreshments

NEW YORK

MAY DAY MEETING

will be held at

THE LIBERTARIAN CENTRE

813 Broadway (between 11th & 12th Sts.)

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1st at 8 p.m.

Speakers:

CONRAD LYNN

SAM WEINER

Refreshments will be served following
the meeting.

FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly

Postal Subscription Rates:

12 months 19/- (U.S.A. \$3.00)

6 months 9/6 (U.S.A. \$1.50)

3 months 5/- (U.S.A. \$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies

12 months 29/- (U.S.A. \$4.50)

6 months 14/6 (U.S.A. \$2.25)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should
be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed
a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers

FREEDOM PRESS

27 Red Lion Street

London, W.C.1. England

Tel.: Chancery 8364

has known the whole of the Press, of which I am behind all the basic fear—organised labour, the workers

an official of the Fleet Street's good would be by those the rank and is unofficially. control, dis- tained from more than hope prevail.

of course, are that. In the April 1st (sic) following pious

standing must dissidents. A otiated which resent dispute change in in-

rgan did not rm the 'clear take, but it is safe to the right to alienable in a made illegal

arts t?

ian publishes a reader on the

and a new pass- notes at the end m the Regula- ssport.

e words: "This e property of Her n the United ddrawn at any ur freedom of ours, &c.

espondent's dis- own passport Caution" we are is a valuable e be altered or ossession of an is warning is as to what one

In our pass- nder the Bevin gs and advice ollowing: "This e property of His d may be with- s to be entitled Majesty's Gov- ld appear from this has been s, and may be for no particu- Who is the civil for these cun- what grounds made in the

tive economy (and Lord Beaver- brook's papers are loud in their praise of the virtues of competition) can have no complaint when the workers begin to act upon their advice—when they begin to compete with the employers for the wealth they produce. Neither can they expect competition to bring anything but conflict. How can it? Competition is conflict, and all that the capitalists and their journalistic apologists desire is that the conflict

But the Government may have to change the rules of the game, as well as interpret them. If the crisis is not soon resolved, the Government will have to get a clear ruling from the country on this issue. Either the Tories will emerge victorious from the polls—with a mandate to rule the land and deal with industrial strife. Or the Socialists will be returned to power—and give the strikers a free rein.'

Makarios Free - But not in Cyprus

WITH a suitable display of determination on both sides not to yield to threats or swerve from justice, Archbishop Makarios has been granted, and has accepted, permission by the British Government to leave the Seychelles. The Archbishop will be entirely free to go where he likes—except to Cyprus, and "naturally when he is a free man anyone can get into touch with him anywhere they like—except in Cyprus" (Lennox Boyd, House of Commons).

The United Nations Resolution calling for a resumption of negotiations for a "peaceful, democratic and just solution" of the Cyprus problem, has according to Makarios: created a new situation opening the way for the restoration of peace on the island.

The British Government has accepted the offer made by NATO to undertake conciliation between

Greece, Turkey and Britain, claiming that the "international aspect" of the problem must be settled before getting down to internal affairs. This can be regarded as another excuse to postpone the question of self-determination until such a time as Britain feels her own demands on Cyprus will be assured. Makarios's claim that a new situation had been created convinces us just as little. Both sides are anxious to adopt 'face saving' tactics so familiar in power politics when changes take place and there is call for the opposing factions to come to terms, but the problems in Cyprus remain fundamentally the same as they were at the beginning of the struggle.

Why has it been necessary therefore for so many lives to be lost before deciding that the time is ripe for "peaceful negotiations"? The truth is that both sides thought that a military struggle would be decisive. At the time of Makarios's exile EOKA was strong, and it seems likely that the leaders though they could harrass the British sufficiently to force them into at least discussing demands on its terms. The British military forces have proved superior in strength while their moral position has been weakened.

Clearly, however, both the British Government and Makarios are now anxious to make a display of conciliation. We never thought otherwise than that Makarios would eventually agree to discuss the future of Cyprus on terms acceptable to both sides.

The Government in this country is being criticised on all sides for its continued intransigence, and in recent months has taken more jolts than is good for a political party with an eye on the next election. By conditionally releasing Makarios, thus opening the way for "negotiations", they hope to hold off their critics as well as the "tough" men in their own party who are always in favour of force. But aside from the party political trickery, Cyprus is much too important to Britain to allow the unsettled state to continue much longer, if it can be avoided

nationalisation or trade controls. They haven't the same dislike for controls over the workers.

Similarly they pride themselves upon their sportsmanship and loyalty to the rules of the game—but if they look like losing anything serious (like money) they are quite unashamed in suggesting changing the rules to suit themselves!

But even this will not produce the 'lasting change in industrial relations.' These relations are to-day

even by means which are difficult for the Government to swallow.

The Greek Government has expressed disapproval of the interference by NATO, but neither Greece nor Turkey are anxious to see Communism flourishing, and we suggested at the time of the Suez crisis, when Tito was hastily making plans to receive representatives from Turkey and Greece, that some kind of agreement would be reached by all interested groups if only through fear of the Kremlin.

In the meantime the ordinary people go uneasily about their day-to-day tasks. We do not consider that under the spiritual and political guidance of Makarios their lot will be very much improved, but the problems of trying to tell them this are as difficult as attempting to prove to the British people that whichever Government they have society will remain very much the same. We can only hope that experience will teach them all, and like us they will act upon it.

Historical Note

ON the outbreak of war with Turkey, November 5th, 1914, Cyprus was annexed to the British Crown. The British Government offered the island to Greece twelve months later, conditionally upon the latter aiding Serbia, then invaded by Bulgaria. The offer lapsed when Greece declined it. British annexation was formally recognised by Turkey under the Treaty of Lausanne, ratified in 1924.

23 HANGED IN A DAY IN SOUTH AFRICA

PRETORIA, MARCH 21.

Twenty-two Africans and three other non-whites were hanged to-day in the Central Prison here for the murder of five policemen. This is the largest number to be hanged in South Africa in one day.

They had been found guilty of the murder of two European and three African policemen during a routine search for drugs in the Berville district of Natal in February, 1956.—*Reuter*.

arise be- classes.

While impossible the end forms. V up to tha munity a

KEEPING SALISBURY

The S is consid prevent in people of the Minis Affairs, M decision h

The pre the Immo sion Ordin illegal for with a w It is not a to have il female. I probably South Af relations races is a

Attention matter by Southern Matimba,

MONEY

The Go 20,000,00 Italian a sures that

A comm of Parlian called the fact that n throughout collapse. in need of of ancient within a c something ly, it was

The con to be spent repairs \$36,000,000 and \$20,800 character.

It is a money is heritage a more often

QUO

Another "Those from the c those acti of democ bomb whe over the although t

"We spe ducing a v to demons that know